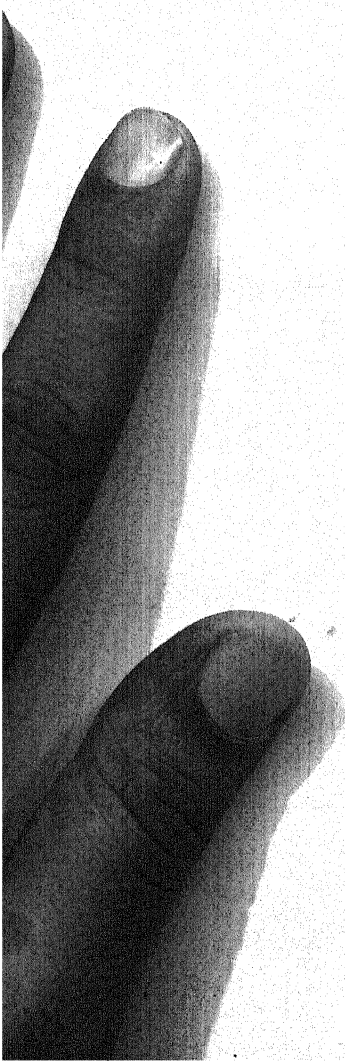


BIHAR DISTRICT GAZETTEERS.



SANTAL PARGANAS.

[Price—Rs. 4-12-0.]



BIHAR DISTRICT GAZETTEERS.

SANTAL PARGANAS

BY

L. S. S. O'MALLEY,
Indian Civil Service.

SECOND EDITION

BY

RAI BAHADUR S. C. MUKHARJI.

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PREFACE TO THE NEW EDITION.



THE Gazetteer of the Santal Parganas was originally written by Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, r.c.s., and published in 1910. In revising it, I am indebted to the Gazetted officers in charge of departments at the headquarters of the district who supplied information with regard to matters of general interest, and in particular to Babu Saileswar Pal, Superintendent of the Deputy Commissioner's office who spared no pains in helping me materially with his intimate knowledge of the district. Babu Uma Prasad Das, an assistant of the said office, has also helped me in various ways. Some of the photographs have been kindly supplied by Rai Bahadur Debendra Nath Sinha, General Manager of Wards Estates.

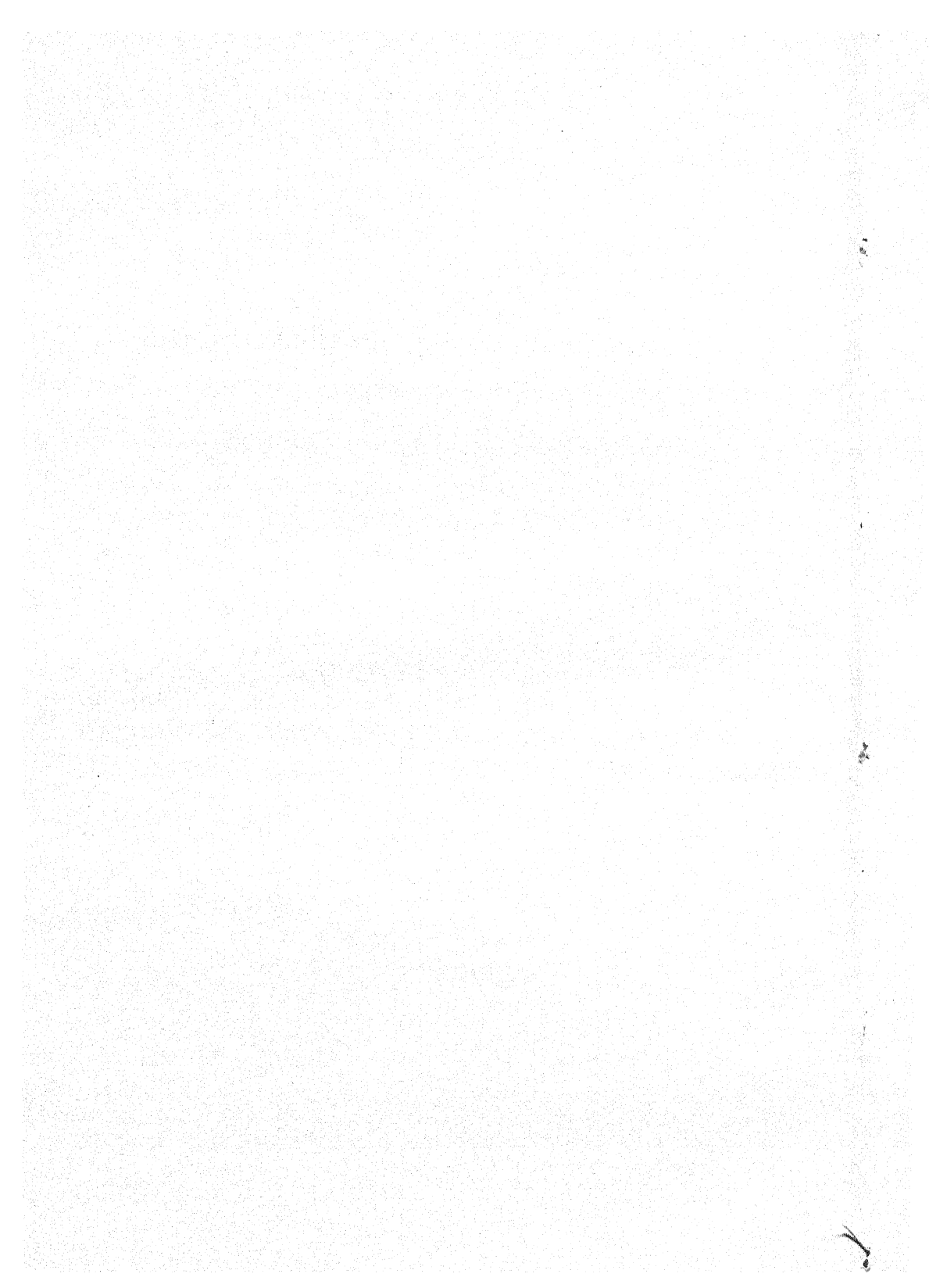
S. C. MUKHARJI.

PREFACE TO THE ORIGINAL EDITION.



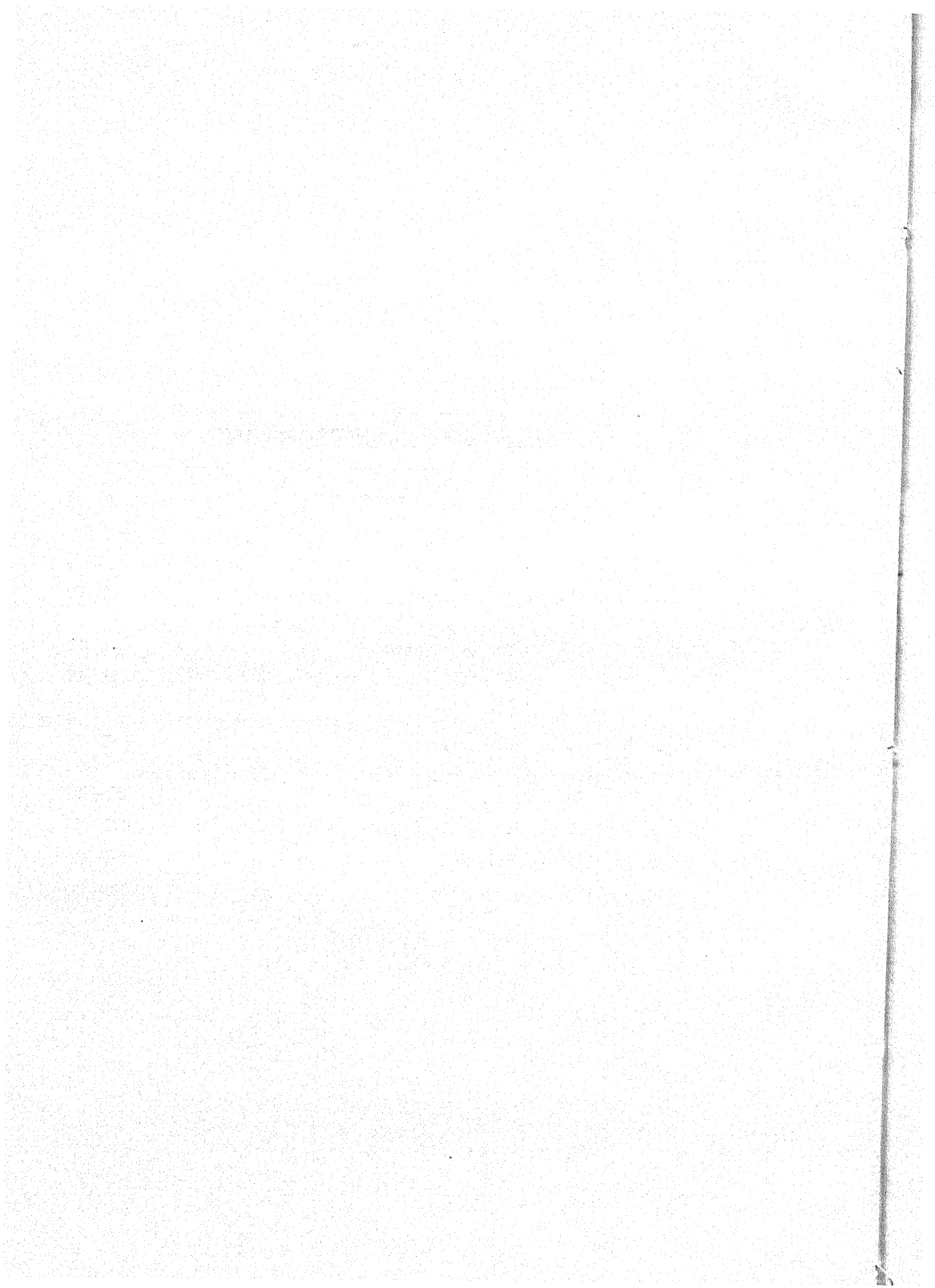
I CANNOT too fully acknowledge my obligations to Mr. H. McPherson, I.C.S., Director of Land Records, Bengal, who very kindly placed at my disposal a proof copy of his Report on Survey and Settlement Operations in the Santal Parganas. I beg also to express my thanks to the Revd. P. O. Boddington for the valuable notes on the Santals which he contributed, and to Mr. H. W. P. Scroope, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Santal Parganas, and Mr. H. L. L. Allanson, I.C.S., Settlement Officer, Santal Parganas, for the assistance they rendered in revising the proofs and supplying material.

L. S. S. O'M



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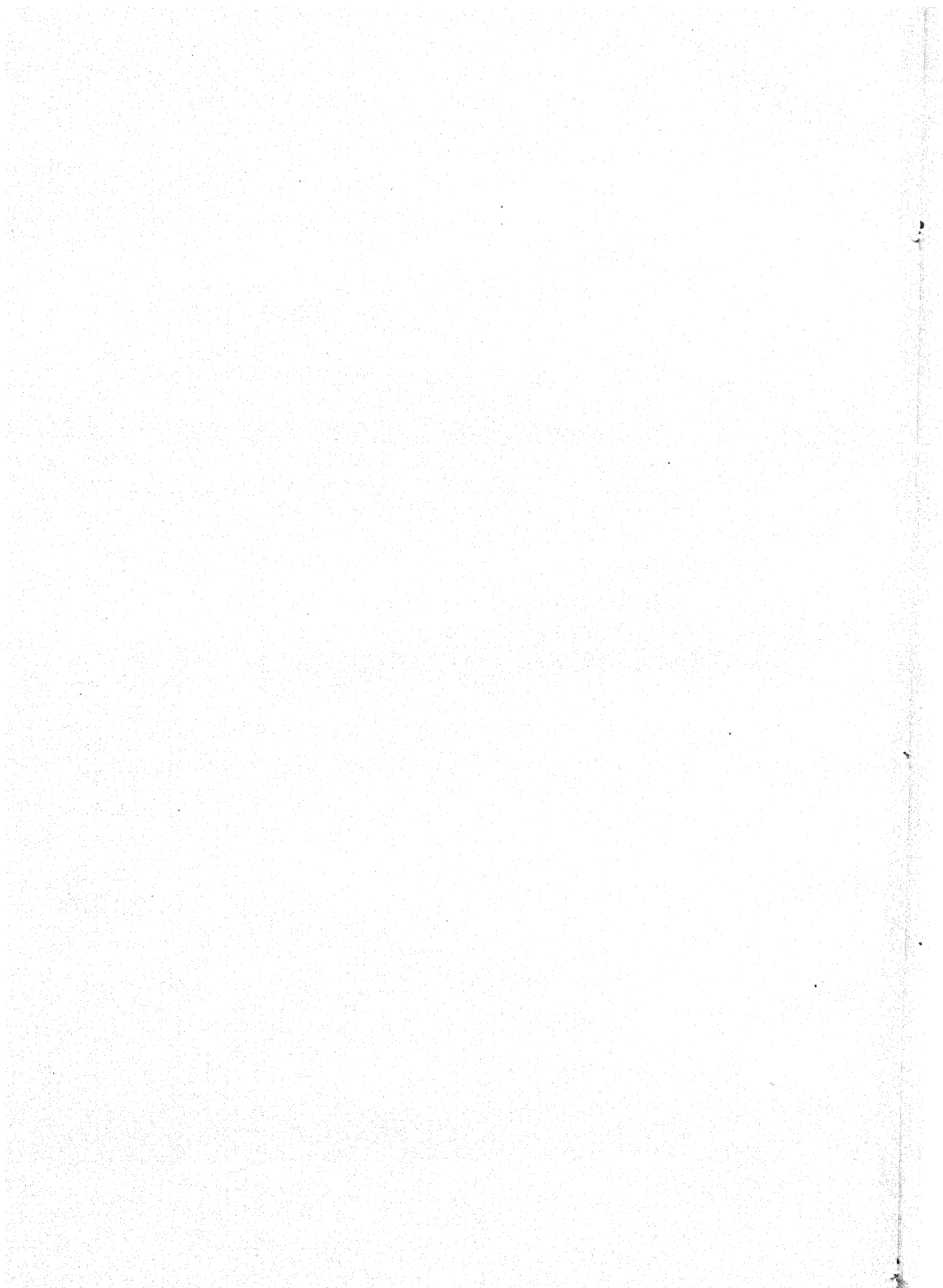


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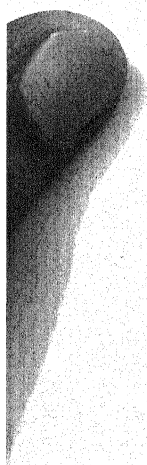
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GAZETTEER

OF THE

SANTAL PARGANAS.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL ASPECTS.

THE district known as the Santal Parganas, which forms the south-eastern portion of the Bhagalpur Division, lies between $23^{\circ} 40'$ and $25^{\circ} 18'$ north latitude, and between $86^{\circ} 28'$ and $87^{\circ} 57'$ east longitude. It contains a population of 2,051,472 persons as ascertained by the census of 1931, and it extends over 5,459 square miles. It is thus almost as large as the three English counties of Cornwall, Devon and Somerset, and it has nearly three-quarters of a million more inhabitants. Its greatest length is 120 miles from the Ganges on the north-east to the river Barakar on the south-west; its average length from north to south is about 100 miles, and its breadth from west to east is nearly the same. Dumka, or Naya Dumka, is the administrative headquarters of the district.

GENERAL
DESCRIP-
TION.

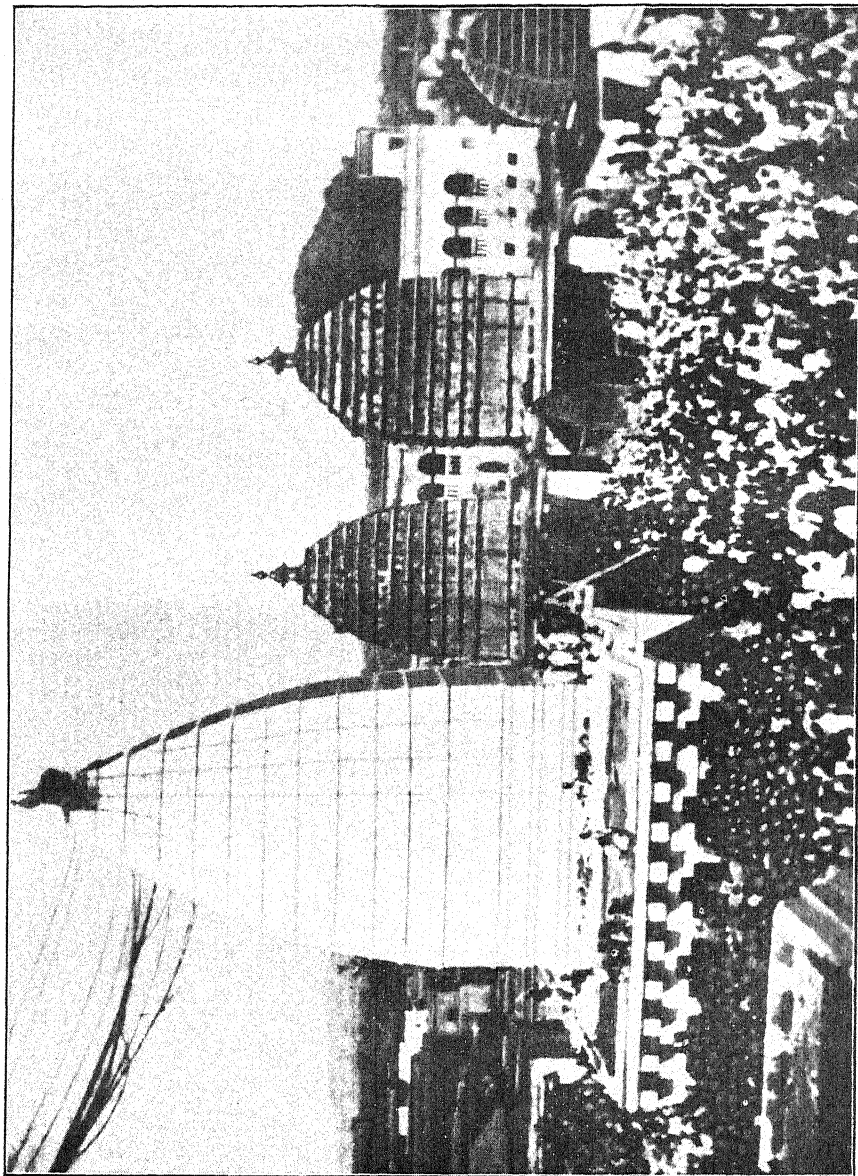
The Santal Parganas are bounded on the north by the districts of Bhagalpur and Purnea; on the east by Malda, Murshidabad and Birbhum; on the south by Burdwan and Manbhum; and on the west by Hazaribagh, Monghyr and Bhagalpur. The boundary on the north and the east of the district is defined for some distance by the river Ganges, which separates the Santal Parganas from Purnea and Malda, while portions of the southern boundary coincide with the Barakar and Ajai rivers, which separate it from Manbhum and Burdwan.

Configura-
tion.

The district is an upland tract with a hilly backbone running from north to south. To the north and east it is flanked by a long but narrow strip of alluvial soil hemmed in between the river Ganges and the Rajmahal Hills. These hills rise abruptly from the plains, forming a wall 1,000 to 2,000 feet high, which juts out into the Gangetic valley and forces the Ganges to bend to the east before it finally takes its southerly course to the sea. From Sahibganj they stretch southwards in an extensive range, which is divided into two portions by the Burhait or Manjhwa valley. This range and its outliers form a central block of hilly country, some 2,000 square miles in area, of which 1,338 square miles are included in the Government estate of the Damin-i-koh. To the north-west of the range lies a level fertile tract known as Tappa Manihari, and to the west and south the hills give place to a series of rolling ridges and undulating uplands, from which rise isolated hills and ridges of sharp and often fantastic outline.

Natural
divisions.

Broadly speaking, the district may be divided into three parts, viz., the hilly portion, which covers about three-eighths of the entire area, the rolling country covering half of it, and the flat country, which occupies the remainder. The hilly part of the district stretches continuously for about 100 miles from the Ganges at Sahibganj to the southern boundary of the district a little north of Suri. It is made up of a medley of hill ranges and valleys, and includes the whole of the Damin-i-koh and the southern and eastern portions of the Dumka subdivision. The hills are in many parts still covered with jungle, while in the valleys, some of which are of considerable size, are scattered small villages surrounded by cultivated clearings. The rolling country includes the whole of the west and south-west of the district. It contains long ridges with intervening depressions, in places rocky and in places covered with scrub jungle. The third division consists of a fringe of low land between the Ganges and the hills, which is largely cultivated with rice and liable to annual inundation. Beginning at the north-west corner of the district (Tappa Manihari) it forms a narrow and practically continuous strip of alluvial soil, about 120 miles long, lying for the most part along the Loop Line of the East Indian Railway in the Rajmahal and Pakaur subdivisions. Its total area is about 500 square miles.



Baidyanath Temple, Deoghar.

In the alluvial tract to the south-east the scenery resembles Scenery. that of the Gangetic valley, but is relieved from tameness by the background of hills. The scenery is far more picturesque in the hilly and undulating tracts which make up the rest of the district, and has been well described by Mr. (now Sir) H. McPherson, I.C.S. : "The upland country, which is now a land of smiling cultivation, is not devoid of hills, but these are either isolated peaks like Phuljori or small ranges like Teor. Their isolation makes them prominent, and they stand up boldly, breaking the monotony of the landscape and making a striking addition to the prospect. Phuljori is 2,300 feet high, and Teor just under 2,000 feet. They are both in the subdivision of Deoghar, from every open point of which glimpses can be caught of distant Parasnath, the sacred mountain of the Jains, rising 4,500 feet into the western sky, some 30 miles across the Hazaribagh border. Although the western uplands contain many picturesque spots, they are for the most part tame and uninteresting, and most of the natural beauty of the district is confined to the hills on the east.

"Here the toil of climbing up the steep hillsides is always rewarded with magnificent views. In the way of mountain pass and woodland scenery I know of nothing finer than the hill roads between Katikund and Amrapara in the southern hills, where the forests are protected by the State. In the deeper ranges of the northern hills I have wandered over a tumbled confusion of lofty hills and deep valleys affording views which approach in beauty those of the lower Himalayas; and nothing can be nobler than the prospect from the crest of the north-eastern circle of hills between Sahibganj and Rajmahal, where one looks down the steep hillsides upon the silver stream of the Ganges and the fertile plains beyond, extending as far as the eye can reach."*

The principal range in the district is that of the Rajmahal HILL
SYSTEM
Rajmahal
Hills. Hills, which stretch from Sahibganj on the Ganges to Nangalbanga on the Rampur Hat road close to the south-eastern boundary of the district. They consist of a succession of hills, plateaux, valleys and ravines, the general elevation of which varies from 500 to 800 feet above sea-level, though some hills have an altitude of 1,500 feet and a few are said to rise to the height of 2,000 feet. Among these loftier peaks may be mentioned Mahuagarhi (1,659 feet). The scenery

* Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Santal Parganas, 1909.

of the Korcho hill in the Mahuagarhi range is simply superb and sublime. It is 6 miles from Narganj and Narganj is 6 miles from Katikund. The road from Narganj to Korcho hill is a fairweather road. The ascent to the top of the hill is rather difficult as there is only a foot track and no road. When, however, one takes the trouble of going to the plateaux on the top of the hill, his labours are amply rewarded. An amphitheatre of ranges of hills covered with dense forests opens up before his eyes. The site has a commanding view. The Silingi Bungalow in Dumka Damin and Alubera Bungalow in Pakur Damin, both on the banks of the Bansloi river are clearly visible from it. The highest points in the range are believed to be Mori in Bungalow Kusma, a fine peak about 2,000 feet in altitude, and Sendgarsa in Bungalow Bokrabandh II, both of which overlook the Burhait valley. This, the central valley of the hills, extends over 24 miles from north to south with an average width of 5 miles. It is surrounded by hills, but there are five narrow passes leading to the plains—the Chaparbhita to the south-west on the Godda-Burhait road, the Manjhwa to the north-west in the direction of Bhagalpur on the Borio-Boarijore road, the Ghatiari to the east on the Burhait-Barharwa road, the Margo to the south-east on the Burhait-Litipara road and a fifth north-east to Rajmahal on the Borio-Tinpahar road. The valley is drained by the river Morel or Moral, which, flowing from the north, has scoured out a long ravine, and by the Gumani coming from the south-west through the Chaparbhita pass. These rivers meet at Burhait, and the united stream, which is called the Gumani, flows along the Ghatiari pass, and thence through the plains to the Ganges. Further south the Bansloi, a fine broad stream, intersects the hills, flowing along the Pachwara or Kendwa pass, which runs through the range from east to west. There are also numerous small streams flowing down nearly every ravine and valley, which afford an abundance of pure fresh water. To the north-east the hills abut upon the Ganges, leaving only a narrow passage along which the Loop Line of the East Indian Railway passes. This belt contracts towards the north, leaving a still narrower passage, which was in Mughal times a pass of great strategic importance. It was known as the "Key of Bengal," and was defended by the fortresses of Teliagarhi and Sakrigali, of which the ruins may still be seen.

The interior of the range is not well known, but within its limits there are scenes of varied beauty, which contrast with its somewhat bluff exterior as seen from the railway on the east. Here there may be seen hills crowded one upon another, steep narrow ravines, wide valleys, sharp ridges and small plateaux. Among these the Santals and Paharias have their villages, which are often picturesquely situated on the brow of a steep hill, with cultivated fields and grass lands stretching beyond them. In the south and south-west there are broad tablelands on the crests of the ridges, which contain stretches of arable land. Throughout the rest of the range rugged peaks and ridges prevail, but the slope of the interior valleys is gentle and affords scope for the plough—and wherever a plough can work, the Santal settlements are found, whether on the summit or the slope. The villages of the Paharias are situated on the hill tops, the approach to which often consists of boulders piled one upon another. Millets, *Sarguja* (*Guizotia oleifera*), pulses, and even rice may be seen covering the hills, while mangoes, jack fruit trees and palm trees thrive luxuriantly. The slopes yield large quantities of bamboos and firewood, and the spiked millet is grown in patches everywhere. About the year 1884, a large trade sprang up in *sabai* grass (*Ischæmum angustifolium*), which is brought down from the hills to Sahibganj Mirzachauki or Maharajpur where it is baled and despatched by rail to paper mills in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. This *sabai* cultivation has resulted in the denudation of the outer hills, and has given them that bluff appearance which the traveller observes from the railway.

A large portion of the range is included in the Damin-i-koh, a Persian name meaning 'the skirts of the hills.' This is a Government estate with an area of 1,338 square miles, the extreme length of which from north to south is 70 miles; its width near the centre of the hills is 30 miles, but to the north and south it contracts to 16 miles.

The Rajmahal Hills have been described as "classic ground for the study of Indian geology."* They consist of a succession of basaltic lava flows or traps with interstratifications of shale and sandstone. The sedimentary bands are held to have been deposited in the intervals of time which elapsed

* V. Ball, *Geology of the Rajmahal Hills*, Memoirs, Geo. Surv. Ind., Vol. XIII.

between the volcanic out-bursts, by the circumstance that the different bands of shale and sandstone differ from each other in mineral character, and also that the upper surface of the shaly beds has sometimes been hardened and altered by the contact of the overlying basalt, whilst the lower surface is never affected. The sedimentary bands are chiefly composed of hard white and grey shale, carbonaceous shale, white and grey sandstone, and hard quartzose grit. The trap rocks are all dark coloured dolerites. They vary in character from a fine grained, very tough and hard rock (anamesite), ringing under the hammer, and with the edges of its fracture almost as sharp as those of a quartzite, to a comparatively soft, coarsely crystalline basalt. The latter usually contains olivine in large quantities.

Very little light is thrown on the source of the basaltic rocks by any observations within the Rajmahal area. Dykes are rare, and there is only one instance known of an intrusive mass which may mark the site of an old volcanic outburst. This is close to the village of Simra, where a group of small conical hills occurs, composed of pinkish trachyte, porphyritic in places and surrounded by Damodar rocks. The surface of the ground is much obscured by superficial deposits, but there appears good reason for supposing that the core of a volcanic vent is here exposed. It appears not an unfrequent occurrence that the later outbursts from a volcano are more silicious than earlier eruptions, and that a volcanic core, even when the lava flows have been doleritic, should itself prove trachytic, when exposed by denudation. This may be due to the solution of the highly silicious metamorphic rocks through which the outburst took place by the molten lava remaining in the fissure after the eruption, and the consequent conversion of that lava from a basic into an acid rock.

The bedded basaltic traps of these hills, with their associated sedimentary beds, attain a thickness of at least 2,000 feet, of which the non-volcanic portion never exceeds 100 feet in the aggregate. There is also an important bed of laterite in these hills, Mahuagarhi, the highest plateau in the range (1,659 feet above the sea), being capped by this formation. The laterite is, in places, as much as 200 feet thick, and it slopes gradually from the western scarp of the hills, where it attains its highest elevation, to the Gangetic plain on the east.

The Rajmahal Hills have given their name to a series of the Gondwara system, and there is also a group of sandstones and conglomerates called the Dubrajpur group after the village of that name.*

The following remarks of Sir T. H. Holdich are of interest as showing the great age of the Rajmahal Hills :—" We are faced with the almost indisputable fact that the India of the Aravallist and of the Rajmahal Hills was but an extension from South Africa. The evidence which has been collected to prove this ancient connection seems to be conclusive. Plants of Indian and African coal measures are identical, and not only plants, but the fauna of that period claim a similar affinity. Near the coast of South Africa a series of beds occur which is similar in all respects to an existing Rajmahal series..... This land connection must have existed at the commencement of cretaceous times." Again he says, speaking of the prehistoric continent—" There was no Gangetic basin in those days, and it was probable that the Rajmahal Hills and the hills of Assam continued the land area to the Himalayas east of Sikkim." He then speaks of later earth movements, and continues—" Another result of this succession of earth movements was the formation of that great Indo-Gangetic depression which forms one of the natural geographical divisions of India. The break in the connection between the Rajmahal and Assam hills, which gave an opening for the eastward flow of the Ganges, is comparatively recent."‡

In the south-east of the Dumka subdivision, south of the Brahmani river, there is a small range of hills known as the Ramgarh Hills. These hills are an extension of the Rajmahal range, but they are not so high and they have a more rounded and undulating outline. The highest peak is Karakata, which is a land-mark for all the country round, as it rises in dome-shaped prominence from the block of hills consisting the group.

Geologically, the Ramgarh Hills are interesting, both the Dubrajpur and Barakar subdivisions of the Gondwara system being represented in them. The Dubrajpur subdivision is

* This account of the geology of the Rajmahal Hills is condensed from the notices of it contained in *The Manual of the Geology of India* by R. D. Oldham (pp. 174-6, 376).

† " Oldest of all the physical features which intersect the continent is the range of mountains known as the Aravallis, which strikes across the Peninsula from north-east to south-west, overlooking the sandy wastes of Rajputana." [Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1907, vol. I, p. 1.]

‡ *India* (Regions of the World Series), pp. 8, 9, 10.

found in a narrow strip with faulted western boundary along the western border of the range. It consists of coarse grits and conglomerates, often ferruginous, containing quartz and gneiss pebbles, with occasionally hard and dark ferruginous bands. It is unconformably overlaid by the Rajmahal group, consisting chiefly of bedded basic volcanic lavas of the nature of dolerites and basalts. Basic dykes scattered through the gneiss area represent the underground portion of these eruptions. Intercalate between successive lava flows are aqueous, sedimentary layers containing fossil plants similar to those found near Jubbulpore and in Cutch.

ther hill
anges.

Further west two parallel ranges of hills stretch in an easterly direction from Mosanjor to Ranibahal. They present a landscape of considerable beauty as seen from the Mosanjor bungalow, which looks out on a picturesque grouping of hills and dales said to rival the hills of the Damin-i-koh in its effects. These ranges after crossing the Mor at Ranibahal, form the Satgarh group or Satbor hills in *taluk* Muhammadaabad, north of Jagdishpur. Tarani, one of the hills of the Satgarh group contains the remnants of a pucca house on the summit of the hill. It is said that this hill contained the fortified residence of the Raja of Nagore and had an underground passage up to Nagore in the district of Birbhum. A mango grove close to the remnants of the pucca house is called "Rani bag" or Rani's garden.* The Satgarh hills finally merge into the Sapchala hills, one of a group of ranges passing through the *taluks* Sapchala, Lakhanpur, Sankara and Kumrabad, which attain a considerable height in the two *taluks* first named. The Sapchala range breaks up into isolated hillocks after crossing the Nunbil river; and north of it, near Dumka, there are a number of other detached hills, which rise abruptly from the plains in sharp conical masses. The most important of these are the Lagwa hills near Nunihat and the Makra hills on the borders of the Deoghar subdivision.

In the latter subdivision there are no contiguous ranges, such hills as exist being isolated peaks in the middle of the plains. The most striking are (1) Phuljori (2,312 feet), 18 miles east of Madhupur railway station, (2) Degaria (1,716 feet), 3 miles west of Baidyanath junction, (3) Patharda (1,603 feet), 8 miles east of Madhupur railway station, (4) Tirkut Parvat, commonly known as Tiur (or Teor) Pahar, 10 miles east of Baidyanath-Deoghar on the Dumka-Deoghar

*Paragraph 95 of Mr. Sutherland's Report.

road, which is 1,505 feet above the plains and 2,470 feet above the sea-level. Less important, though picturesque in appearance, are the peaks known as Jalwa midway between Madhupur and Baidyanath near Mathurapur blockhut, Belmi near Phuljori, Paboi 6 miles south-east of Tiur, and Makro 8 miles south-east of Paboi. With the exception of Phuljori, Tiur, Patharda, Degaria and Jalwa which contain *sal* and bamboo jungle, these hills are mere rocky excrescences. In the Jamtara subdivision also there are a few detached hills of no great size, the highest being Ghati (1,181 feet) and Malancha (863 feet), on which stand Government trigonometrical survey pillars.

The general slope of the country is from north-west to south-east, except in the small alluvial tract lying between the Rajmahal Hills and the Bhagalpur boundary, where the land slopes towards the north-west and sends its drainage to the Ganges. The valley of the Barakar separates the south-west of the district from the Chota Nagpur plateau, but here also the inclination is to the south-east, and the Ajai and Mor, with their numerous tributaries, carry the drainage of the western half of the district not into the Barakar, but into the Bhagirathi below Murshidabad. The streams which rise within the Rajmahal Hills follows the same general direction as those of the south-western uplands, *i.e.*, from north-west to south-east, and, issuing through passes in the hills, join the Ganges after it has made its great curve southwards below Sahibganj. With the exception of the Ganges, the rivers of the district are hill streams, with well-defined channels and high banks. In the rains they come down in flood and become rapid torrents, impassable owing to the velocity of the current, which gathers force as it sweeps down over rocky beds. In the hot season they are reduced to a mere thread of water not more than 2 feet deep, with a gentle stream trickling through the sand. The following is a brief account of the principal rivers.

The Ganges first touches on this district a few miles west of Teliagarhi, and flows eastwards as far as Sakrigali, where it bends to the south-east leaving the district a short distance below Udhua Nullah. The average width of its bed is about 3 miles, but the stream does not fill its channel in the hot weather, and almost invariably overflows it in the rains. There have been considerable changes in this portion of its course within historic times. To the north it formerly ran under the walls of the fort at Teliagarhi, but the main stream

RIVER
SYSTEM.

Ganges.

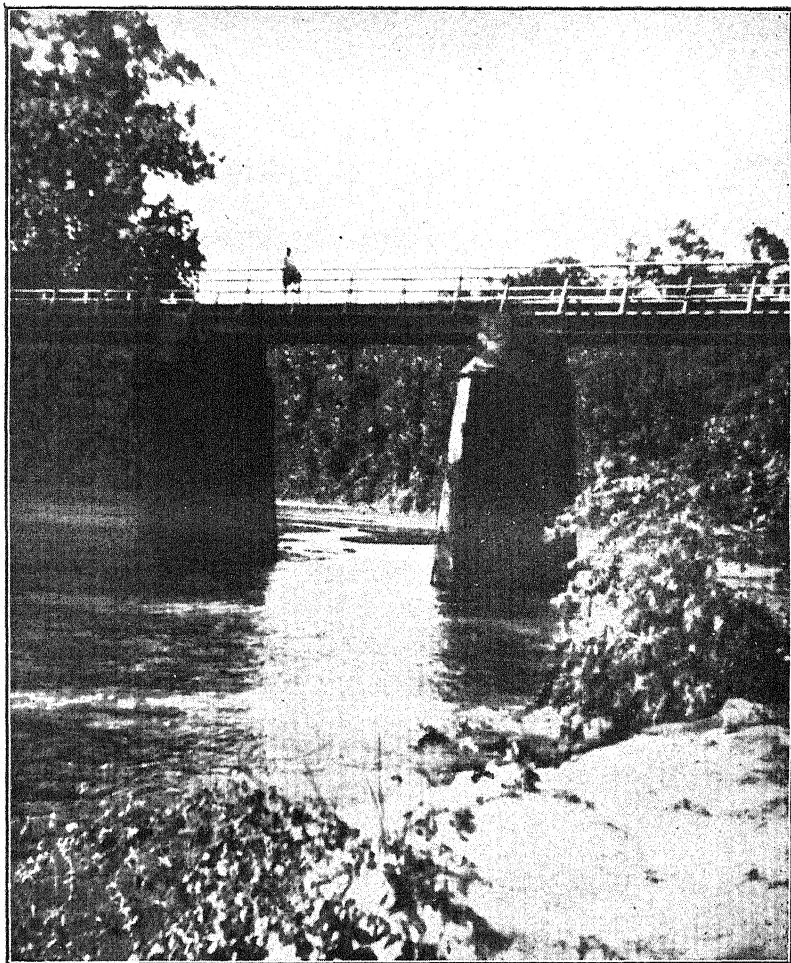
is now far away and the East Indian Railway line runs along the alluvial deposit it has formed. To the east the main stream formerly flowed close to Rajmahal, and about 1640 washed away many of the buildings in the city; but it is clear from Tavernier's account that by 1666 it had taken another course and was fully half a league away from Rajmahal. In 1860, when the Loop Line of the East Indian Railway was extended to this town, an arm of the Ganges ran immediately under the station, forming a navigable channel for steamers and boats of all sizes. In 1863-64 the river abandoned this channel, leaving an alluvial bank in its place, and Rajmahal was till 1879 3 miles distant from the main stream of the Ganges, and could only be approached by large boats during the rains. In that year the Ganges returned to its old bed. In 1912, the main channel left Rajmahal and was on the Malda side. But in 1929, the river began eroding its right bank and was gradually approaching the railway line between Maharajpur and Sakrigali junction and the Railway authorities had to acquire land for the diversion of the railway line. At present the main stream is on the Rajmahal side. In consequence of these changes in the course of the main stream, the bulk of trade has been transferred to Sahibganj. Rajmahal retains only the local traffic across the Ganges with the Malda district.

Gumani.

The most important river in the north of the district is the Gumani, which rises in the Rajmahal Hills in the extreme east of the Godda subdivision and makes its way north-east through the gorges which it has scoured out for itself. At Burhait it is joined by the Morel river coming down from the north, and from this point the Gumani flows a short distance to the east and then turns sharply to the south. Finally, after a winding course of some 30 or 40 miles, it emerges from the hills and flowing eastwards makes its way across the plains, falling into the Ganges a short distance beyond the boundary of this district.

Bansloi.

The Bansoli rises at a hill called Bans Pahar in the Godda subdivision, and flowing in a general easterly direction, forms the northern boundary of the Dumka subdivision, separating it from the Godda and Pakaur subdivisions. It emerges into the Dumka Damin through the Pachwara pass, and then meanders along its northern boundary past the Silingi and Kuskira bungalows. It leaves the district near Maheshpur, and flowing past Murarai station on the East Indian Railway debouches in the Bhagirathi.



**A view of the Gumro bridge on the Dumka-Amrapara Road
in the Damin-i-Koh.**



A view of the Gumro bridge in the Damin-i-Koh.

The Brahmani rises in the west of the Dudhua hills in the Brahmani north of the Dumka subdivision, and flowing through Pharasekul and Sankara forms the southern boundary of the Dumka Damin. It passes by the Jhilimili and Mosnia bungalows in the Damin-i-koh, and leaving the Dumka subdivision at Darin-Mauleswar enters the Birbhum district and joins the Bhagirathi after crossing the East Indian Railway at Nalhati station. Its main tributaries are the Gumro and Ero, which drain the watershed between the Ramgarh and the Damin hills.

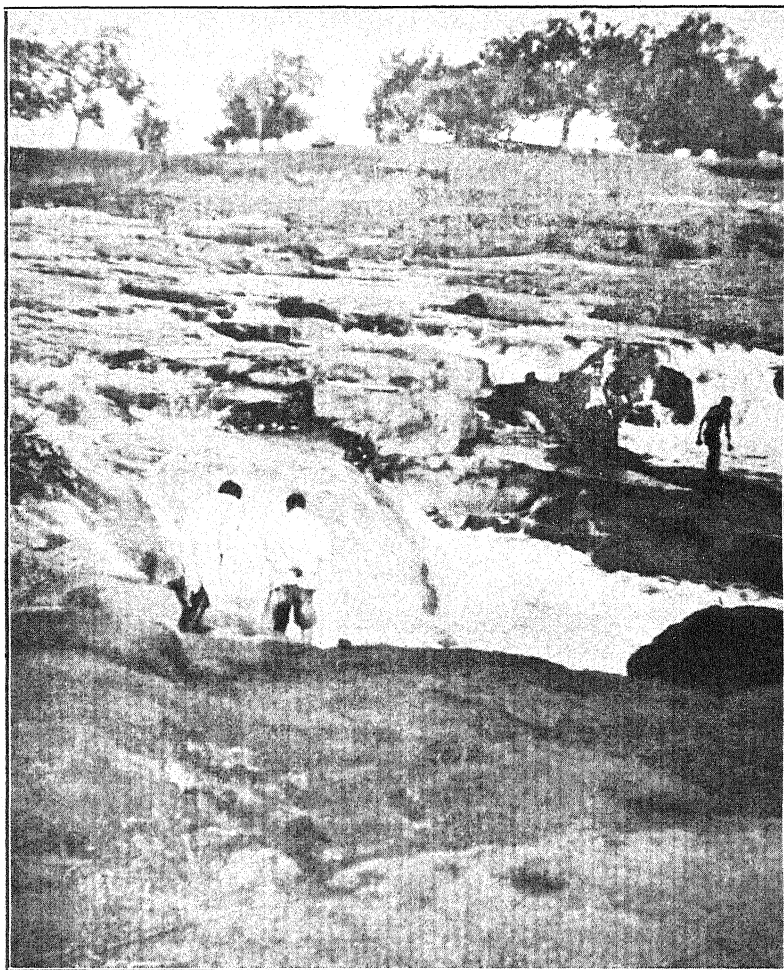
The Mor, which drains the central portion of the Santal Mor. Parganas, rises in the Tiur hills at the extreme north-east corner of the Deoghar subdivision. Entering the Dumka subdivision at its north-western corner, it follows a winding south-easterly course through it, passing close to Dumka and Kumrabad, where a line of rocky boulders rises high from its bed. Leaving the subdivision at Amjora, it passes into the Birbhum district, and joins the Bhagirathi after crossing the East Indian Railway at Sainthia station. It is known as the Motihara in its upper course, and it is only after its junction with the Bhurbhuri in *taluk* Nawada that it takes the name of Mor. Another name for the stream is Morakhi or Mayurakshi, the peacock-eyed, *i.e.*, having water as lustrous as the eye of a peacock.

The following are the main tributaries of the Mor. The Bhurbhuri rises on the east of the Dudhua hills and joins it at Nawada. The Dhobai, which rises in the Godda subdivision, flows eastwards and southwards after crossing the Bhagalpur-Suri road, and skirting the base of the Lagwa hill, joins the Mor three miles above its confluence with the Bhurbhuri. The Tipra, coming from the west, joins the Mor at Phuljori two miles further south, the Pusaro joins it in *taluk* Dhuria, and the Bhamri in Beludabar. The Nunbil rises in the east of the Deoghar subdivision, and entering the subdivision in *taluk* Singro follows a south-easterly course. Then passing through Goremala, it joins the river Sidh at Babupur. The Sidh rises in the south-east corner of the Deoghar subdivision, and flows south-east and then east through the Jamtara and Dumka subdivisions, joining the Mor a few miles north of the borders of Birbhum. The Dauna rises in *taluk* Sankara north of the Rampur Hat road, crosses it at the 8th mile, then meanders on the east of the Suri road, and falls into the Mor, after crossing the latter road at the 10th mile.

The Ajai rises in the Monghyr district, and after draining the north-western corner of the Deoghar subdivision, flows in a south-easterly direction through its centre, being joined from the west by the Pathro below Sarath, and further south by the Jainti. Both these tributaries rise in the Hazaribagh district. The Ajai enters the Jamtara subdivision at Kajra and flowing southwards forms the southern boundary of the district from Kusbedia, a few miles east of the railway station at Mihijam, to Afzalpur at the extreme southern point of the Santal Parganas.

The most picturesque waterfall in the district is that called Motijharna, *i.e.*, the pearl cascade. This is situated about two miles south-west of the Maharajpur railway station at the head of a picturesque glen of the Rajmahal Hills. There are two falls, each 50 or 60 feet in height, by which the water of a small hill stream tumbles down over two ledges of rock. There are also two small falls or cascades on the Brahmani and Bansloi rivers. The first is at Singhpur, where the Brahmani river dashes over an extensive bed of basalt, which here crosses the stream at right angles and forms a fall of about 10 feet. The other is 18 miles to the north close to the village of Kuskira, where the bed of the Bansloi river is crossed by a broad belt of basalt causing a fall of about 12 feet in height. The action of the water has worn the rock into a number of deep cup-like depressions, some of which are of considerable size. In the centre of the stream, below the falls, stands an isolated group of colossal basaltic columns, one of which was measured by Captain Sherwill in 1851 and found to be 48 feet in circumference.

There are several hot springs in the Pakaur and Dumka subdivisions. In the former the hottest spring is one called simply Laulaudah (the Santal name for hot water), which is situated near the bank of a small stream called the Boru, about half a mile north-west of Sibpur village in the Maheshpur police-station. Another hot spring near Birki in the same police-station is called Baramasia and by the Santals Bhumuk. In the Dumka subdivision six hot springs have been discovered, *viz.*—(1) Jhariya Pani near Gopikandar, (2) Tatloi on the bank of the Bhurbhuri river near Palasi on the 63rd mile of the Bhagalpur-Suri road, (3) Nunbil near Kendghata on the 14th mile of the Dumka-Kundahit-Jamtara road, (4) Tapat Pani on the left bank of the Mor, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles north of Kumrabad, (5) Susum Pani on the opposite bank of the Mor, close to the village of Baghmara, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south-east of



A view of the waterfall in the Bansloi River in the Damin.

Tapat Pani and (6) Bhumka on the right bank of the same river $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from Ranibahal. Further particulars of the springs will be found in an article by Colonel Waddell published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1890. Since that date another spring called Patalganga made its appearance at Nunihat at the time of earthquake on 12th June 1897.

“Most of the hot springs,” writes Colonel Waddell, “are held in considerable repute by the natives in the neighbourhood as potent remedies, especially for itch, ulcers and other skin affections. But a most essential part of the process of cure consists in the preliminary worship which must be paid to the presiding deity of the spring. Nearly all of these springs are worshipped by the Hindu and semi-aboriginal villagers in the vicinity; for these strange outbursts of heated water are regarded by them as supernatural phenomena and the especial expression of the presence of a deity. The deity usually worshipped at the springs by the semi-aborigines is Mata or Mai, the “mother” goddess—one of the forms of Kali—and large *melas* are held in her honour. She is especially worshipped by those suffering from itch and other skin diseases, also by the barren, both male and female, who all bathe in the water and drink some of it. Goats, etc., are sacrificed to her, and the rocks are daubed with vermilion or red-lead, and pieces of coloured rags are tied to the nearest bush or tree in her worship. At Nunbil the goddess is called Nunbil Devi, and she is believed to especially reside in a large *sal* tree over the spring. At Jhariya the Bhuiya *ghatwals* (of Dravidian type, with short frizzly hair) worship, with fowl sacrifice and offerings of rice, the spirit of Sonmon Pande, a Brahman priest, who is said to have died there. The more Hinduized worshippers, however, believe that their favourite god Mahadeva is specially present at all those hot springs, and to him they there offer worship.

“Curiously enough, the thermal springs of relatively low temperature, which might perhaps be termed ‘warmed’ rather than hot springs, are believed by the villagers to be hotter in the very early morning, and to become cooler as the day advances. This opinion is evidently founded on the loose subjective sensation of the villagers, who in the cool of the morning remark that the spring, being hotter than the atmosphere, gives a sensation of decided heat: which contrast becomes less marked during the day when the sun has heated up the earth and air, causing these to approach the temperature

of the spring."* The same phenomenon was noticed by Professor Ball, who wrote :—" Cases of hot springs have been reported to occur in these (Rajmahal) hills, but I did not meet with any that were more than tepid. The natives say that in most of them the water is warm in the winter and cool in the summer. This is, of course, due to the contrast afforded by the temperature of the surrounding atmosphere at the different seasons. The principal springs which I have visited were near the villages of Ruksi, Rajbhita and Puraya, west of Burio. There is also one on the Chaparbhita range and another in the valley north-east of Burhait not far from the Mahadeo cave."†

GEOLOGY.

Archæan gneiss and Gondwana rocks constitute the greater portion of the Santal Parganas, the latter represented principally by the volcanic rocks of the Rajmahal Hills, which occupy an elevated strip of land along the eastern border, while to the west the undulating area that constitutes the greater part of the district consists of Bengal gneiss, which is remarkable for the great variety of crystalline rocks which it contains. The Gondwana division consists of the Talcher, Damodar, Dubrajpur and Rajmahal groups. The Talcher and Damodar belong to the lower Gondwanas, and the other two groups to the upper. The volcanic rocks of the Rajmahal group are the predominant member of the series, and they constitute the greatest portion of the hills of that name. They are basic lavas resembling those of the Deccan trap and vary in their coarser types from a dolerite to a compact basalt in the finer-grained varieties. A trachytic intrusion situated in the Hura coal-field, about 22 miles south-east of Colgong, although petrologically quite different from the basic basalts and dolerites, may nevertheless belong to the same volcanic series. Sedimentary beds, consisting principally of hard white shales and sometimes also of hard quartzose grits or carbonaceous black shales, occur frequently intercalated between successive flows, and these are of great interest on account of the beautifully preserved fossil plants which they contain. They are mostly cycadaceous plants together with some ferns and conifers and are identical with those found in the upper Gondwana at Jubbulpore, in Cutch and various other places,

*Some new and little known hot springs in South Bihar, J. A. S. B., Part II, 1890, pages 224—35.

†Geology of the Rajmahal Hills, Memoirs, Geological Survey of India, Volume XIII.

and have been of great assistance to geologists in determining the age of the series.

In the Rajmahal Hills, the Gondwana groups underlying the volcanic group are found principally along the western border of the range. The outcrops are very discontinuous, owing partly to the faulted nature of the western boundary, and partly to the overlaps between the different members, which in the case of the Barakars, Dubrajpur and Rajmahal amount to a well-marked unconformity. The Talchers are very poorly represented. They consist of the usual greenish silts and sandstones with only a local development of the well-known boulder bed. These rocks are supposed to be of glacial origin. The next group is the most important from an economic point of view, as it contains the coal measures. Along the western border of the hills it constitutes several coal-fields, which, enumerated from north to south, are (1) the Hura coal-field, a tract about 15 miles long from north to south, commencing about 13 miles south-east of Colgong; (2) the Chaparbhitia coal-field about 10 miles further south in the valley of the Gumani; (3) the Pachwara field in the Bansloi valley; and (4) the Brahmani coal-field in the valley of the river from which it derives its name.

In the three southern fields the Damodar rocks are lithologically similar to the Barakar beds of the Raniganj coal-fields, consisting of alterations of grit, sandstones and shale, with occasional beds of inferior coal. The coal-measures of the Hura field are lithologically different: they consist of friable felspathic grits and soft white shales, with a few thick seams of inferior coal, and correspond possibly with the Raniganj group of the Damodar coal-fields. The Dubrajpur group, which either intervenes between the Damodar and the volcanic rocks, or rests directly on the gneiss, to be overlapped in its turn by the volcanic rocks themselves, consists of coarse grits and conglomerates, often ferruginous, containing quartz and gneiss pebbles with occasionally hard and dark ferruginous bands.

The south-western portion of the district contains the small Deogarh coal-fields and the northern edge of the Raniganj coal-field. The Talcher and Barakar are the groups represented. The boundaries of these coal-fields are often faulted. There are numerous dykes and intrusive masses of mica peridotite and augite dolerite, the underground representatives of the Rajmahal gneiss. The coal in the Deogarh

fields is neither plentiful nor of good quality. In the north of the district the rocks disappear beneath the Gangetic alluvium.* In the south of the district, there are the Kasta coal-fields in the Jamtara subdivision and mining operations are being carried on by the Trans-Adjai Collieries, Limited, and the Pariarpur Collieries, Limited.

Mineral
resources.

The chief mineral products of economic value are coal, which has already been referred to, building stones, road metal, ornamental stones, lime, pottery clays, iron, copper and lead ores. The Rajmahal Hills contain a considerable variety of rocks suitable for building purposes. The basaltic trap, if carefully chosen, affords a durable building material, which formerly was not only used in temples, forts and other structures in the immediate vicinity of the hills, but was also carried to towns situated at a distance in the plains. Besides trap, there are a number of sandstones suited for building purposes; and in some places a Talcher sandstone is quarried on a small scale for manufacture into curry-stones, plates, etc. Laterite is found on the tops of some hills and for a considerable distance along their eastern flanks. In many places it is sufficiently compact and dense to be employed as a building material, and evidence of its having been so used is afforded by certain old forts and temples. The basaltic trap is also capable of affording an inexhaustible supply of road metal, but there are only a few localities where it is sufficiently near to rail or water carriage to render it available for export. Stone is quarried to a large extent on the hills bordering the Loop Line of the East Indian Railway from Murarai to Sahibganj. The most important quarries were those started by Mr. Atkinson at Udhuanalla and by Mr. Ambler at Maharajpur. No work is now done at Udhuanalla and the quarry siding has been dismantled. The value of the stone increased in 1909-10 at the time of construction of the Lower Ganges bridge at Sara and the Eastern Bengal Railway authorities acquired the Pipaljurie, Rajbadh and Khaprajola quarries in the Pakur subdivision and Belpahar quarries in the Rajmahal subdivision. The principal quarries at present are Barharwa, Taljhari, Maharajpur and Malitok stone quarries. The basaltic trap also yields agates and

*Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Volumes VII and XIII, and records of the Geological Survey of India, Volume XXVII. The above account was contributed by Mr. E. Vredenburg, Deputy Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.

chalcedony, while common opal and various forms of rock crystal are abundant.

The nodular limestone called *kankar* or *ghuting* exists in many places both in the hills and in the country adjoining them, considerable deposits being found at Sakrigali, where quantities of lime have been manufactured for export to Calcutta and elsewhere. Limestone tufa encrusts the rocks at several places in the hills, where its origin is probably due to warm springs. "The rock," writes Professor Ball, "presents a reticulated appearance, which is chiefly due to the twigs and other foreign substances which were enveloped in the calcareous matter. This structure gave rise, no doubt, to the superstition amongst the natives that it was an accumulation of giants' bones (*asahar*), and the native account again led to the hope on the part of some of the scientific men of Calcutta that the *asahar* of the Rajmahal Hills would prove to be an accumulation of bones similar to the mammalian fossils of the Sewalik hills." This hope proved unfounded. The principal localities at which this formation has been found are on the north flank of the Mahuagarhi hill near the village Amdiha, on the south near Belaidiha in Bungalow Narganj and on the south-east in villages Bartali and Katnidangal in Bungalow Gopikandar. It has also been found in the valley south-east of Chandna and south of Rajbhita in Bungalow Rajbhita and between the villages Gongti and Simaltala in Bungalow Marrow no. I.

China-clay has long been known to exist at Lohandia in the Rajmahal Hills, and recent investigation has brought to light its existence in other localities. It occurs in three ways—(1) as the decomposition product of felspar in the fundamental gneisses and schists; (2) in the white Damodar sandstone, where its presence is due to the decomposition of felspar originally present in the sandstone; and (3) as beds of white china clay interbedded in the white Damodar sandstone. The first form is seen in some quantity at Katangi near Baskia, at Karanpura and at Dodhani. The Kaoline deposit in Karanpura has been leased out for the first time with effect from 1st January 1934. The second form is seen at Mangalhat, where it is extracted by the Calcutta Pottery Company for the manufacture of china and porcelain; and it is also present throughout the Hura coal-field, in the northern and eastern boundaries of the Dhamni coal-field, and in parts of the Chaparbhita coal-field, chiefly near

Alubaru and Amjhari. The third form occurs in the Hura coal-field as a bed from 4 to 5 feet thick, about a quarter of a mile west of Piarām, at a place just south of the stream by Hura on the jungle road leading to Mahua Bathān, and also to the south of Rohri village. Fire-clay occurs somewhat plentifully on the western side of the Rajmahal Hills, and is found mostly in the northern coal-fields, where it occurs in beds in the Damodar rocks.*

Iron ores are found in considerable quantities in the basaltic trap and trappean beds, as well as in the sandstones, and are worked by iron smelters, locally called Kols. The iron ores in villages Haripur, Hahajore, Harrah, Dumaria and Panchrukhi in Būngalow Simra II in the Godda Damin-i-koh Government Estates were leased out for a period of 5 years from 1st April 1921. But after the expiry of this lease, there have been no applicants for further leases. Laterite is also sometimes sufficiently rich to be worked as an ore. Copper ore has been found at two localities, viz., Behroki in *taluk* Rohini *taraf* Bedia in police-station Deoghar and at Bodhbank in circle Bharchandi in the Jamtara subdivision. At Behroki, the more important of the two, the primary ore consists of Chaleopyrite altering to erubescite in the upper portion of the deposit. There is also some blende and galena chalcocite, black copper ore and malachite. The ore is contained in a stratum of tremolite-schist from a few inches up to 6 or 8 feet thick, interstratified with well foliated biotite gneiss of highly garnetiferous. The deposit was opened up many years ago to a depth of some 150 feet but without success by the Deoghar Mining Company. Lead ores principally argentiferous galena exist at Behroki in police-station Deoghar and at Akasi or Panchpahar in P. S. Pareyahat, in the Sankara hills in the Dumka subdivision, in Tiur Pahar in the Deoghar subdivision and also in the Lalpur hills in *taluk* Belbathan in the Godda subdivision. At Behroki 35 ozs. 14 cwts. of silver were found per ton of lead. In 1934, marcasite was found in white stone boulders in the stone quarry in village Sadipur, 17 miles from Dumka on the Dumka-Suri road. The Director, Geological Survey of India, to whom the specimen of the find was forwarded reported as below :

*Murray Stuart, China-clay and Fire-clay Deposits in the Rajmahal Hills, Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind., Vol. XXXVIII, Part 2 (1909), pages 133-148.

" The specimen forwarded.....is either Marcasite or pyrite, probably the former, the two minerals having the same composition. The sample contains iron and sulphur, a trace of nickel but no copper, gold or silver.

One small bit of metallic silver was found with the pieces sent by you. I am unable to say how it got in with the marcasite. Metallic silver may occur in the oxidation zone of a sulphide lode or as a nugget in alluvium but not with the unweathered marcasite included in vein quartz."

There are Government forests in the Damin-i-koh, but BOTANY. nearly all cultivable land having been brought under the plough, they are, for the most part, confined to the hills and the steeper ravines and slopes. In the Rajmahal, Pakaur and Godda subdivisions, the jungle has not been spared even on such hilly sites, for the Maler or Sauria Paharias *jhum* the steepest slopes, however stony, and raise a precarious crop, having been too lazy to cultivate the valleys, from which they have practically been ousted by the more energetic Santal cultivator. The mischief done by the practice of *jhuming*, i.e., shifting cultivation, has since been checked to a certain extent by the demarcation of the kurao (*jhuming*) areas during the settlement operations. In the Dumka subdivision *jhuming* is not allowed, and in the lower slopes of the hills pure *sal* forest is found in places, but trees over 3 feet in girth are very few in number. Higher up, the forests are mixed forests with little *sal* but many bamboos.

Generally speaking, the predominant tree in the district is the *sal* (*Shorea robusta*) called *sarjom* in Santali. Its distribution is general, except where the forest has been destroyed, as is largely the case in the north of the Damin-i-koh estate, by *jhuming* and the cultivation of *sabai* grass. In the plains and valleys the chief trees accompanying *sal* are *piar* (*Buchanania latifolia*), *hesel* (*Semecarpus anacardium*), and *asan* (*Terminalia tomentosa*). On the lower slopes of the hills other species appear in considerable variety, such as *Zizyphus*, *Diosphyros*, *Sterospermum* and *Bauhinia*. As the hills are ascended, other species are met with, e.g., bamboos (*Dendrocalamus strictus*), *murga* (*Pterocarpus Marsupium*), *satsal* (*Dalbergia latifolia*) and *gamhar* or *kasamar* (*Gmelina arborea*); and the proportion of *sal* gradually grows less, till on the upper plateaux it almost disappears. On the old *jhumed* lands it gives place to a dense growth of shrubby

trees, chief among which are *Nyctanthes arbor-tristis*, *Wendlandia*, *Gardenia*, *Flacourtia*, *Woodfordia* and *Anogeissus*. In the moist valleys on the northern face of the Rajmahal Hills plantains with their large leaves present a more typically tropical vegetation than is found elsewhere.

The following account of the common trees found in and near the villages is quoted from *Santalia* by the Revd. J. M. Macphail :—"The tree which is most characteristic of the Santal country is the *sal*, sacred to the Santals. Of it their sacred groves consist. It is a tall erect tree with large smooth leaves, of which leaf plates are made, and of a good hard wood which makes it extremely popular for building purposes. The banyan is also common, whose spreading branches will shelter a small army, and its cousin the *pipal*, sacred to the Hindu. The stately *semal* or Indian cotton tree, with trunk buttressed like a fort and huge red flowers often a foot in diameter; the graceful tamarind, with feathery foliage; the *nim*, whose medicinal uses are manifold, and its brother the Persian lilac; the *palas*, a blaze of colour when in blossom in the hot season; the palm, fit emblem of the righteous man; the mango with its delicious fruit, and the plebeian but even more popular jack, and the almost universally useful bamboo, are the most common and remarkable among the others. Even more economically useful than any of them is the *mahua*. The flower of this tree is edible, and, being rich in sugar, fairly nutritious. When in full blossom in March or April, it falls from the tree in the early morning. One thinks of the manna when one sees the ground beneath the *mahua* trees almost covered with the whitish flower, and the resemblance is enhanced when the people turn out to carefully gather it into baskets. It is dried in the sun, and may be stored for months. To many of the poorer class it is for the time their article of diet, and there are few who do not use it to eke out their food-supply. Even those who do not eat it themselves use it for feeding cattle. The fruit is also highly prized. The pulp of it is eaten and from the kernel a fine bland oil is expressed."

FAUNA.

The Santal Parganas were formerly well stocked with big game.* Even 60 years ago it was stated in the *Statistical Account of Bengal* that tigers, leopards, bears, hyænas, deer and wild pig, with a variety of small game, were common

*This account of the Fauna of the district has been prepared with the help of a note contributed by Mr. A. H. Mee, formerly in charge of the Santal Parganas Forest Division.

almost everywhere, while wild elephants and rhinoceros used to be seen. Rhinoceros have now been extinct for about half a century; the last wild elephant was shot in 1893; and the larger carnivora are also scarce owing to the gradual opening up of forest areas and the spread of cultivation. Outside the Government estates the jungle is being gradually destroyed, and, with the removal of jungle, big game has almost disappeared. The Santal, moreover, is as destructive to game as he is to jungle, and the result has been an extirpation of the smaller game, on which the larger carnivora prey, and the migration of the latter to other districts, where food is more plentiful. Not only do the Santals kill any small game they can knock down when alone, but occasionally they organize large drives. Hundreds of men gather together, and armed with spears, clubs, bows and arrows form themselves into two lines, which march for days together killing every beast and bird they meet.

Tigers were once common, so much so that the writer of *Sonthalia and the Sonthals* (1867) says that "formerly it was no uncommon thing to be awoken by the sentry, and, on going out, to see at the bottom of a long walk in the garden at Pakaur a large tiger crawling with his nose to the ground." Tigers are now very rare, those met with being probably stragglers from other districts. It is true that the presence of a tiger is at times reported by the Santals, but the probability is that the animal is a leopard. Cases of cattle lifting are attributed to tigers, but the number of such cases is insignificant. Cows and bullocks are rarely attacked, and buffaloes even less frequently; and the fact that the young of these animals, with sheep and domestic pigs, are most usually killed would seem to point not to tigers but to leopards. Some 35 years ago a tigress with a half-grown cub wandered into the district from the Hazaribagh forests and caused the deaths of several persons at Katikund and Susni in the Dumka and Godda portion of the Damin-i-koh and at Rajbhita in the Godda subdivision. In 1930 a tiger, a tigress and a cub made their appearance in the hills near Bakudi Railway station. After this, tigers have not been heard of.

Leopards are still common throughout the district and are not restricted to any particular locality. They are met with not only in the more densely wooded areas, but also in rocky and more or less isolated peaks where vegetation is scant. One or more are always to be found in certain favoured haunts, e.g., in the hills in the vicinity of Saldaha, in the lower hills

near Narganj and Bokrabandh, and at the base of the hills to the west of Hiranpur in the Pakaur Damin. At the place last named caves, or rather large fissures in the rocks, are always occupied by one or more of these brutes, and though attempts have been made from time to time to drive them out and shoot them, they have met with little success. Close to Dumka near the village of Kurwa, on the right of the road to Rampur Hat, the Kurwa hill, which is a mass of rock and boulders with little if any vegetation, is another favourite haunt. The larger leopards occasionally take to cattle lifting and man-eating. The Santals shoot them with poisoned arrows but the number killed in this way is small. Poisoning and trapping, which are resorted to in other districts of Bihar, are not commonly practised. Leopard cubs are often caught by the Santals and are usually sold if a purchaser can be found.

Bears (*Melursus ursinus*) are fairly numerous in the forests of the "Old Reserve" in the Dumka Damin, and are also common in the Nunihat hills and many other places. They favour the higher hills, from which they descend during the night to feed, and especially hills made up of rocks piled one above another, with cavities between and beneath them. Their food consists principally forest fruits, roots, white-ants and honey. The *mahua* flower is a particular favourite, and to obtain this they descend to the lower hills and plains. Instances of their attacking men are not unknown. Hyænas are found in the district, but are not numerous. They are met with both in forest areas and open country, a favourite place of lying-up being the *khar* thatching grass grown close to villages.

The Ungulata have few representatives. Spotted deer or *chital* (*Cervulus axis*) are found only in the "Old Reserve" area, and even there they are not numerous. Their favourite haunts are the pure bamboo forests, grass lands and mixed forests on the higher hills. Barking deer (*Cervulus muntjac*) are also met with in the more densely wooded areas and occasionally in small patches of forest, but they also are nowhere numerous. One or more, however, are always to be met with in the vicinity of Korcho Pahar near the Silingi bungalow. Very few wild pig are left, and the survivors keep to the deep forests. They have been all but exterminated by the Santals, who are fond of pork, and mercilessly hunt them down and kill them wherever found.

In the country inhabited by the aboriginal tribes game birds have been almost exterminated. Peafowl and jungle-fowl are still found, however, chiefly in the more densely wooded tracts, besides spur-fowl (*Galloperdix spadicea*), which are also seen on rocky hills where vegetation is more sparse. All three species have now become rare. Grey partridge are met with in suitable localities all over the district, but are nowhere plentiful. Common or grey quail visit the diara country along the Ganges in the cold weather, while bush quail and button quail are also met with all over the district, but are nowhere numerous. Common snipe and painted snipe are common in the Gangetic *jhils* of the Rajmahal subdivision. The Bengal green pigeon is a denizen of the more densely wooded areas, and some are always to be met with in the low hills in the vicinity of Silingi bungalow. Golden plover are often seen in flocks in open country during the cold weather. The bronze-winged jacana and black ibis are very common, and may be mentioned here, though they scarcely fall within the category of game birds. The former are generally found on tanks. The latter are common everywhere and are known as *turjua* among the Santals. They are greatly sought after on account of their flesh, which the Santals consider delicious. The common crane and demoiselle crane are occasionally to be seen in the cold weather along the Ganges, but are rare.

Among the ducks, all the usual cold weather visitors frequent, in large numbers, the *bils* near the Ganges in the Rajmahal subdivision and the reservoirs and rivers of North Godda. The following species are common:—the gadwall, pintail, shoveller, tufted duck, ferruginous duck, red-crested pochard, gargany, common teal and ruddy sheldrake. Of the resident ducks the whistling and cotton teal are common; the nukhta or combeduck probably breeds in the Rajmahal *bils*. Large flocks of geese visit the north of the district from the Ganges, after the rice crop has been harvested, to feed on the stubble. The bar-headed is the species most commonly observed.

In the Ganges the most common fish are *hilsa*, *rohu*, *katla*, *kalbaus*, *mirig*, *boal* and *shol*. The same species are also found during periods of flood in the other rivers, *viz.*, the Mor, Bansloi, Gumani, and Ajai.

Crocodiles are found in the Ganges, and are reported also to travel up the Ajai river in the Jamtara subdivision, but do not appear to come up the smaller rivers. In one stream only, *viz.*, the Tripati near Gopikandar, have they been seen.

Snakes are common, including the cobra, *karait* (*Bungarus cœruleus*), *chiti* or spotted snake, and others, which are frequently found in the thatching of old houses. One of the bungalows at Godda was indeed, formerly known as "Snakes' Castle" from the number of snakes found in it.*

CLIMATE.

Owing to its position on the borders of Bengal, Bihar and the tableland of Chota Nagpur, the Santal Parganas partake in some measure of the climatic characteristics of each of those three areas. Thus, the alluvial strip of country on the east has the damp heat and moist soil characteristic of Bengal; while the undulating and hilly portions, from Deoghar on one side to Rajmahal on the other, are swept by the hot westerly winds of Bihar, and resemble in their rapid drainage and dry sub-soil the lower plateaux of Chota Nagpur. In this undulating country the winter months are very cool and the rains not oppressive; but the heat from the end of March to the middle of June is severe, and the hot westerly winds are extremely disagreeable. On the subject of the hot winds, the following remarks of Captain Sherwill are of interest:—"A spectator standing at midday during the hot weather in any of the *parganas* that lie to the eastward of the Rajmahal Hills, may distinctly observe the termination of the hot winds and the commencement of the humid atmosphere of Bengal. The hot wind is seen on a level with the highest peaks of the Rajmahal Hills, which rise to 2,000 feet, and up whose western flank it has been driven from the plains of Monghyr and Bhagalpur. It is represented by a huge yellowish-brown stratum of heated air, highly charged with minute particles of dust, and peculiarly electric. This bank or stratum extending to near the base of the Himalaya mountains, never descends again, but, lifted up and there retained by the damp atmosphere of Bengal, is lost or cooled in the upper regions of the air. The mark of separation between the heated, electric, and dust-charged atmosphere of Western and Central India and the damp air of Bengal is so defined and so nearly stationary during the day, that its height, limits and rate of progression are all capable of measurement."

Rainfall.

Rainfall which does not exceed an inch between November and April increases to 3.34 inches in May owing to the influences of occasional cyclonic storms in that month. In June the rainfall is 10.06 inches and in July the heaviest fall of 12.69 inches occurs. August and September are also rainy

*E. G. Man, Sonthalia and the Sonthals, 1867.

months with a fall of 12 and 9.97 inches, respectively. The October rainfall, when the monsoon is practically at the end, is important to agriculture: the average rainfall of this month is 3.45 inches.

On the whole, the range of temperature is not very high, except during the hot weather months of March, April and May when the westerly winds coming from Central India cause high temperature with very low humidity. The temperature has been known to approach 120° in the shade. The following table gives meteorological statistics for Dumka which is 497 feet above the sea-level and is the headquarters station of the district.

Months.	Monthly mean 8 A.M. temperature.	Monthly mean maximum temperature.	Monthly mean minimum temperature.	Monthly mean temperature of day.	Monthly mean 8 A.M. humidity.	Monthly average rainfall.	Monthly average wind velocity in mile per hour.
January ...	57·4F.	75·8F.	51·1F.	63·5F.	74	0·53"	1·0
February ...	62·8	80·3	55·7	68·0	65	0·71"	1·3
March ...	73·9	91·2	64·6	77·9	50	1·01"	1·7
April ...	83·0	99·5	73·7	86·6	53	0·90"	2·4
May ...	84·2	98·7	77·0	87·9	67	3·53"	2·8
June ...	83·0	93·2	78·1	85·7	80	10·07"	2·6
July ...	81·8	89·5	77·9	83·7	86	13·48"	2·1
August ...	81·3	88·5	77·5	83·0	87	13·01"	1·9
September ...	81·3	89·0	76·5	82·7	85	9·56"	1·9
October ...	77·7	88·0	70·8	79·4	78	3·78"	1·1
November ...	67·9	82·2	60·0	71·1	73	0·41"	0·8
December ...	58·5	76·0	51·2	63·6	72	0·10"	0·9
Annual normal ..	74·4	87·7	67·8	77·7	73	57·09"	1·7

The mean temperature at Dumka falls in the cold weather months to 63°F. and the Mean Minimum temperature to 51°F. Mean temperature increases from 78°F. in March to 88°F. in May and Mean Maximum temperature from 91°F. in March to 99°F. in April. Mean Minimum temperature increases from 65°F. in March to 78°F. in June and July. The

humidity falls to 50 per cent in March and 53 per cent in April. The Mean Maximum falls from 99°F. in May to 93°F. in June and 89°F. in July while the Mean Minimum remains practically constant during the months May to August.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

A number of stone implements have been found in the Santal Parganas, most of which are obviously weapons or tools, such as axes, hammers, arrow-heads or agricultural implements. The most interesting are some so-called "shoulder-headed celts" similar to those found in the Malay Peninsula and Chota Nagpur. They are of special interest, because several writers have regarded the fact that such celts have only been found in the countries mentioned as proof that the races now settled there, viz., the Mons and Mundas, belong to the same stock, thereby implying that the shoulder-headed celts were originally manufactured and used by them. On this point the Revd. P. O. Bodding, of Mohulpahari in this district, who brought to light the existence of such celts in the Santal Parganas, writes as follows :—" So far as our present knowledge goes, we cannot say more than this : the fact of these peculiarly formed celts being found in Chota Nagpur and the Santal Parganas in India, and in the delta and valley of the lower Irrawaddy—so says Sir A. Phayre in a letter printed in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, no. 1, 1876—and nowhere else, makes it so likely as to be almost a certainty that in a former age the same peoples have either been living in the countries mentioned (and those between), or there has been some kind of communication or intercourse between the countries by migration or otherwise. If these shoulder-headed celts should be found, *e.g.*, in the Assam Valley and Burma, they would point out where these people were living, or the line of communication. The original owners may, of course, for all we know, have been the Mon-Khmer and Munda peoples; but they may also just as well have been others."*

The earliest inhabitants of whom there is any record appear to be the Maler (Sauria Paharias), who are found to this day in the north of the Rajmahal Hills. They have been identified with the Malli mentioned by Megasthenes, who

THE
STONE
AGE.

EARLY
HISTORY.

* Further details will be found in two articles, *Stone Implements in the Sonthal Parganas*, by the Revd. P. O. Bodding published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part III (1901 and 1904),

visited the court of Chandra Gupta at Pataliputra (Patna) in 302 B. C. According to his account, the Malli were a race holding the country between the Prasii, *i.e.*, the people of Magadha or Bihar, and the Gangaridae, *i.e.*, the people of Lower Bengal. Their territory was bounded by the Ganges and contained within its limits a mountain called Mallus, which is identified with the sacred hill of Mandar in the south of the Bhagalpur district, close to the boundary of the Godda subdivision. The Sauria Paharias are also believed by some to be the race referred to by the Greek geographers* as the Suari, but the latter are generally held to be the Savars of Orissa.

We have no detailed account of this part of the country until the time of Hiuen Tsiang, a Chinese pilgrim, who visited India about 645 A. D. From the record of his travels, we learn that he visited the kingdom of Champa, the northern boundary of which extended along the Ganges from Lakhisarai to Rajmahal, while the southern boundary passed through "desert wilds, in which were wild elephants and savage beasts that roamed in herds". To the east of Champa lay the kingdom of Kie-chu-u-khi-lo or Kie-ching-kie-lo, which, according to General Cunningham, was the tract of country included in the present Santal Parganas. "The distance and bearing," he writes, "bring us to the district of Rajmahal, which was originally called Kankjol after a town of that name, which still exists 18 miles to the south of Rajmahal." When independent, the petty state of Kankjol most probably comprised the whole of the hill country to the south and west of Rajmahal, with the plains lying between the hills and the Bhagirathi river as far south as Murshidabad."

Hiuen Tsiang does not give any account of the interior of this kingdom, merely stating that, having been conquered by a neighbouring state, the towns were desolate and most of the people were scattered in villages or hamlets. He adds, however, that on the northern boundary, not far from the Ganges, was a lofty tower made of bricks and stone, which General Cunningham identifies with Teliagarhi. "The pilgrim," he writes, "does not say what was the nature of the tower; but from his description I gather that it must have been a Buddhist building, as its four faces were ornamented with panels filled with figures of saints, Buddhas and Devas. From

* A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (1871), pp. 508, 509; W. B. Oldham, *Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan District* (1894), p. 6.

the mixture of brick and stone in the building, and its position on the northern frontier of the district and on the south bank of the Ganges, I am led to think that this tower was most probably situated at Teliagarhi itself. The place was certainly an old military post, as it completely commanded one of the three passes leading into Bengal. But it must have also been a place of consequence, as it possessed a considerable number of large statues, both Buddhist and Brahmanical. Most of these were removed to a great house at Kahalgaon (Colgong) built on the top of the hill facing the rocks, but, since the establishment of the railway close by, many of them have disappeared, no one knows where.”*

After this, there is no record of the history of the district for many centuries, but there is an interesting reference to it in the *Bramanda* section of the *Bhavishyat Purana*, which was probably compiled in the 15th or 16th century A. D. from ancient materials. It refers to the tract comprising the present district and Birbhum as Narikhanda, and describes it as follows :—“ Narikhanda is a district abounding in thickets. It lies west of the Bhagirathi and north of the Dwarikeswari river. It extends along the Panchakuta hills on its west, and approaches Kikata on the north. The forests are very extensive, chiefly of *sakhota*, *arjuna*, and *sal* trees with a plentiful addition of brushwood. The district is celebrated for the shrine of Vaidyanath. The deity is worshipped by people from all quarters, and is the source of every good in the present age. Three-fourths of the district are jungle; the remaining fourth is cultivated. The soil of a small part of it is very fertile, but by far the greater portion is saline and unproductive. There is no want of water, and numerous small streams run through the forest : the principal of these is the Ajaya. In many places there are iron mines. The people are, in general, small, black and of immoral propensities, and ignorant of religious duties; a few only are attached to the name of Vishnu. They are dexterous bowmen and industrious cultivators.”†

The authentic history of the district may be said to begin with the rule of the Muhammadans, when their armies marched to and from Bengal through the Teliagarhi pass.

MUHAM-
MADAN
PERIOD.

* A. Cunningham. *Ancient Geography of India* (1871), pp. 478-9; Reports, Arch. Surv. Ind., XV, 37-39; S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II.

† J. Burgess, *Geography of India*, Ind. Ant., 1891, Vol. XX, p. 420.

The Muhammadan historians show that this pass, the "Key of Bengal" as it was called, was the scene of numerous battles. In 1538 A. D. Sher Shah fortified it during the rebellion against the Emperor Humayun, but the entrenchments were forced by the Emperor's army.* On the 12th July 1576 the decisive battle of Rajmahal was fought in its neighbourhood. Three years before this Daud Khan had proclaimed himself King of Bengal and, relying on his Afghan troops, defied the Emperor Akbar. Akbar placed himself at the head of the imperial forces, and the loss of Hajipur forced Daud Khan to abandon Patna and fly to Tandah. On the way he stopped at Teliagarhi and found the fortifications so strong, that he told the garrison he expected them to hold the Mughal army at bay for a year. His hopes were vain, for the Afghan troops fled and the Mughal general, Munim Khan, took possession of the pass without the loss of a man. Shortly afterwards Daud Khan, after some more crushing defeats, submitted and swore allegiance to Akbar. In 1575, however, Munim Khan having died, with a large portion of his army, in an epidemic which broke out at Gaur, Daud Khan seized the opportunity to head another rising of the Afghans. He soon found himself in command of an army of 50,000 men, and drove the Mughal forces back to Patna. Reinforcements were hurried up under Husain Kuli Khan, the Governor of the Punjab, whom the Emperor sent to Bengal as his Viceroy in order to quell the rebellion, with the famous Raja Todar Mal, second-in-command. Daud Khan took up a strong position at Rajmahal behind the entrenchments of Teliagarhi, which were garrisoned by 3,000 Afghans. There he held the Mughal forces at bay for several months, but at last was compelled to give battle. Daud Khan led the centre of his army, while Kalapahar, the well-known conqueror of Orissa, commanded the right wing. Kalapahar having been killed, the Afghans gave way, and Husain Kuli Khan then charged on the centre of the enemy's line, which was soon broken. Daud Khan himself was captured, promptly condemned as a rebel, and beheaded, his head being sent by express messenger to the Emperor at Agra as a tangible proof of the victory. This Mughal victory was of signal importance, for it ended the Afghan supremacy in Bengal and the rule of the independent Muhammadan kings; and after it the Province became a subordinate *subah* of the Mughal empire.

* C. Stewart, *History of Bengal* (1847), pp. 77-8.

The next important event in the history of the district was the establishment of Rajmahal as the capital of Bengal in 1592. Sher Shah had selected it as the seat of government about half a century before, but it was left to Man Singh, Akbar's Viceroy in Bengal, to carry out this measure. From 1202 till 1576 Gaur had been the capital of the Province, except for some 60 years when it was transferred to Pandua, and more recently when Tandah had taken its place; but the Ganges had receded westward until Tandah stood a league from it, and Gaur, deserted by the river, had become more and more unhealthy, the population being decimated by the epidemic of 1575, after which it was abandoned. It was in these circumstances that Man Singh decided to remove the capital to Rajmahal, where he built himself a palace and also erected a strong rampart, strengthened with bastions, which encircled the city. He is also said to have changed its name from Agmahal to Rajmahal, the seat of empire; subsequently, as the city grew, the Muhammadans, in compliment to the Emperor, called it Akbarnagar. It did not long continue to be the capital, for in 1608 the Nawab, Islam Khan, made his headquarters at Dacca, that being a more central position for the defence of Bengal against the raids of Magh (Arakanese) pirates and Portuguese buccaneers.*

Shortly after the transfer of the headquarters, Teliagarhi was the scene of a sanguinary battle between Prince Shah Jahan and Ibrahim Khan, Viceroy of Bengal, brother of the Empress Nur Jahan and uncle of Shah Jahan. Shah Jahan had risen in rebellion against his father Jahangir and invaded Bengal. Ibrahim Khan marched from Dacca to Rajmahal with all the forces he could collect in order to cut off his retreat, upon which Shah Jahan hurried back from Burdwan. Ibrahim Khan, realizing that with his small forces he was incapable of holding the city against a siege, retired to the fortifications of Teliagarhi, on which were mounted a number of cannons, served, we are told, by "vagabond Europeans of different nations whom he had encouraged to enter his service." The defences, however, were mined and blown up, and Shah Jahan's soldiers pouring through the breach put the garrison to the sword. The main battle also went against Ibrahim Khan, who rushed into the thick of the enemy crying—"My life is at the service of the Emperor. I will

*Stewart's *History of Bengal* (1847), pp. 118, 131.

conquer or die." He fell covered with wounds, and his army left without a leader, fled from the field leaving their camp to be plundered by the enemy.* This battle decided the fate of Bengal for the time being, Shah Jahan being left undisputed master of the Province. His rule was short lived, for in 1624 he was decisively defeated by the imperial forces near Allahabad. He fell back on Rajmahal, and, after taking from it 'the household paraphernalia' which he had left there, retreated, hotly pursued, to the Deccan.

In 1639 Rajmahal was again made the seat of government by Shah Shuja, the second son of Shah Jahan, on his appointment as Viceroy of Bengal. He built a splendid palace, strengthened the fortifications erected by Man Singh, and spent large sums of money in making the town worthy of its position as the capital of Bengal. According to Stewart, "the following year, nearly the whole of the city and the principal part of the palace were destroyed by a dreadful conflagration, in which many lives were lost and the family of the prince with difficulty escaped. About the same time, the current of the Ganges changed its bed and poured its torrents against the walls of the new capital washing away many of the stately edifices. Previous to that time, the course of the Ganges was along the northern bank, running under the walls of Gaur, but since that period, it pours its torrents against the rocks of Rajmahal forming eddies and whirlpools, dangerous to the incautious or impatient traveller." In spite of this, Rajmahal appears to have continued to be the capital till 1660.

The year before, Shah Shuja, in order to make good his claims to the throne of Delhi, which had been seized by his brother Aurangzeb, marched north with a large army, but being defeated at Kadba, fell back on Monghyr, where he threw up entrenchments. The imperial army under Aurangzeb's son Prince Muhammad and Mir Jumla soon forced him to quit this position. Raja Bihruz of Kharagpur, in spite of his professed loyalty, intrigued with Mir Jumla and showed him a practicable route through the hills, along which Mir Jumla pushed forward a large force. Shah Shuja,

*The account given in Stewart's History of Bengal has been followed. According to another account, Ibrahim Khan entrenched himself in the mausoleum of his son, which was in the fort and had a small rampart, and was killed close to its walls fighting heroically. His son had died in his youth and had been buried at Rajmahal close to the Ganges. See *Riyazu-s-Salat*, pp. 189-192.

finding that he was being outflanked, abandoned Monghyr and retreated to Rajmahal, where he fortified Teliagarhi and Sakrigali. The imperial army followed hard after him, and, having stormed the defences at Teliagarhi and Sakrigali, invested Rajmahal on one side, while Mir Jumla, coming through the hill passes, besieged it on the south. For six days Shah Shuja held out, but by that time the enemy's artillery had effectually breached the fortifications, which, Bernier tells us, consisted only of 'made earth, sand, and fascines.' Shah Shuja, realizing that the place was untenable and that the approach of the rains was likely to widen the breaches and render his retreat difficult, fled to Tandah with his family. That very night the rains broke, and Mir Jumla, finding pursuit impossible, was compelled to canton his army for four months at Rajmahal. He was not left unmolested, for the troops of Shah Shuja frequently crossed the Ganges, fired into his camp, and kept his soldiers in a constant state of alarm. He therefore abandoned the city and encamped his army at some distance from the river side. The difficulties of Mir Jumla were soon increased by the conduct of Prince Muhammad. The latter, it is said, having received a pathetic letter from the daughter of Shah Shuja, to whom he was betrothed, resolved to join her and throw in his lot with her father. He therefore secretly intrigued with Shah Shuja, won over a large part of the army to his cause, and went over to Tandah, where he married the princess. Mir Jumla found the army bordering on mutiny and, deciding that only active employment would prevent an outbreak, crossed the Ganges and advancing against Shah Shuja, decisively defeated him (1660).

After this, Rajmahal ceased to be the capital of Bengal, which was removed to Dacca. The reasons for this exchange will be apparent from the account left by Tavernier, who visited Rajmahal in January 1666 with Bernier, "Rajmahal is a city upon the right hand of Ganges: and if you go by land you shall find the highway for a league or two paved with brick to the town. Formerly the Governors of Bengal resided here, it being an excellent country for hunting, besides that it was a place of great trade. But now the river having taken another course, above a good half-league from the city, as well for that reason as to keep in awe the king of Arakan and several Portuguese banditti, who are retired to the mouths of Ganges, and made excursions even as far as Dacca itself,

both the Governor and merchants have removed themselves to Dacca, which is at present a large city and a town of great trade." Rajmahal, however, was a mint town in 1661, to which merchants sent golden plates to be coined; and it was the headquarters of the *Faujdar* or Governor of Akbarnagar. We find also that in the time of Murshid Kuli Khan (1704-25) an officer was sent here every year during the winter to make ice in the Rajmahal Hills to supply the Nawab's table. "The Nawab," says the *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, "had stores of ice for full twelve months, used ice daily, and received his supplies of ice from Akbarnagar. Similarly in the season of mango-fruit, which is the best of the fruits of Bengal, the superintendent of mango-supplies was posted in the *Chakla* of Akbarnagar and he, counting the mangoes of the *khas* trees entered them in the accounts, and showed their collection and disposal and the watchmen and carriers, and levying the expenses of carriage from the zamindars, sent the sweet and delicious mangoes from Malda, Katwa, Husainpur, Akbarnagar, and other places. And the zamindars had no power to cut down the *khas* mango-trees: on the contrary, the mangoes of all the gardens of the aforesaid *Chakla* were attached. And this practice was more rigorously observed in the times of previous Nazims of Bengal."

THE
ENGLISH
AT RAJ-
MAHAL.

Rajmahal was a place of some importance to the English in their early efforts to establish their trade in Bengal. When it was the capital of Shah Shuja, they had an unofficial representative there in the person of Dr. Gabriel Boughton, who was a favourite of the Prince, having, it is said, cured a lady of his zanana who was suffering from a complaint in her side. Whatever the truth of this story—and doubts have not apparently been thrown on it as on the legend that Boughton cured a daughter of the Emperor Shah Jahan—it seems certain that Boughton had much influence with the Prince. That this was recognized by the English is clear from the following instructions given by the Captain of the *Lyoness* to the agents sent from Balasore in 1650 to open up trade in Bengal. "You know," he wrote, "how necessary it will be for the better carrying on the trade of these parts to have the Prince's *pharman*, and that Mr. Gabriel Boughton, Surgeon to the Prince, promises concerning the same. To put matters out of doubt, it is necessary that you forthwith, after our departure and the settlement of the business here and at Hooghly, proceed to Rajmahal with one

Englishman to accompany you: where being come, consult with Mr. Boughton about the business, who hath the whole contents of the Dutches' last *pharman*, and together endeavour (if possible) that, according to Mr. Boughton's promise, the Company may have such a *pharman* granted as may outstrip the Dutch in point of privilege and freedom, that so they may not have cause any longer to boast of theirs. You know what I have written to Mr. Boughton about it, who, without doubt, will be very faithful in the business and strive that the same may be procured, with as little charge as may be to the Company, knowing that the less the charge is, the more will be the reputation, according to his own advice in his last unto me."* It appears that Boughton must have been faithful in the business, for an entry in the Court Book of 1674 shows that he obtained a *pharman* from Shah Shuja giving the English liberty to trade in Bengal.†

With the fall of Shah Shuja the difficulties of the English began. Their boats were stopped at Rajmahal by the new Governor Mir Jumla as they came down the Ganges laden with saltpetre, and when their Agent at Hooghly had the audacity to attempt reprisals by seizing one of the Governor's vessels, Mir Jumla threatened to expel them from the country. The threat was effectual, for the English apologized and restored the vessel. After this they appear to have been on good terms with the Governor; and by 1676 they had established a small agency at Rajmahal, in connection with the Mughal mint, to which they sent their treasure to be coined into rupees. This agency was in 1681 placed in charge of Robert Hedges, who was subsequently the Company's President of Council.‡

In 1696 the rebellion of Subha Singh broke out. The rebel chief was joined by the Afghans of Orissa under Rahim Khan, and the whole country west of the Ganges from Rajmahal to Midnapore was overrun by them, Rajmahal being

*C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, I, 26-7. The spelling has been modernized.

†A detailed account of the part played by Boughton in securing for the Company liberty of trade in Bengal will be found in an article by Lt.-Col. Crawford, I.M.S., *The Legend of Gabriel Boughton*, published in the Indian Medical Gazette Jan. 1909. In an article on Rajmahal in the Calcutta Review, vol. xxxvi, p. 124 it is stated that "the old graveyard to the north-west of the hotel contains the remains of Surgeon Boughton."

‡Stewart's *History of Bengal*, pp. 180-1; *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, I, 34, 53, 376; II xxxix.

captured and the property of the English seized. At length, in April 1697, the levies of the Nawab Ibrahim Khan were gathered together, and placed under the command of his son Zabardast Khan, who retook the town, but refused to restore their goods to the English, who appealed to Azim-us-Shan, grandson of the Emperor, who had been appointed Nawab in the place of Ibrahim Khan. Further trouble followed a few years later, for Aurangzeb issued a proclamation ordering the arrest of all Europeans in India, and in 1702 all the servants of the Company at Rajmahal were seized with their effects.

On the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 Azim-us-Shan marched with 20,000 horse to support his father Shah Alam in the struggle for the throne, leaving his son Farrukhsiyar, some of the women of his seraglio, and his treasure at Rajmahal.* Shah Alam having ascended the throne under the title of Bahadur Shah, Azim-us-Shan returned to Rajmahal, where in April 1708 the English sent an envoy with an offer of Rs. 15,000 (besides two looking glasses for the Prince and another for the Diwan, Murshid Kuli Khan), in return for authority to trade free of duties. A month later the Council found to their disgust that their agent Siva Charan had without their authority given to the Prince an order on them for Rs. 36,000. After a long consultation, they decided on sending Fazl Muhammad, one of their most trustworthy native servants, to Rajmahal with orders to send Siva Charan under a guard to Calcutta to answer for his conduct. On the 22nd October Fazl Muhammad returned from Rajmahal, bringing still more unpalatable news. The Prince and the Treasurer, he said, in spite of their promise to give a new order for freedom of trade for Rs. 36,000, now absolutely refused to do so unless Rs. 50,000 were given as a present to themselves and Rs. 1,00,000 were paid into the Emperor's treasury at Surat. The Council retaliated by threatening to stop all the Mughal shipping in the Hooghly and order all British subjects to withdraw from Bengal. The threat was not carried out, and we find that Mr. Cawthorpe, the English agent at Rajmahal, was seized by Azim-us-Shan, who refused to release him or let the Company's boats pass, till he had received a bill of exchange for Rs. 14,000. The Council then repeated their threat to stop the Mughal shipping and concentrate all their servants at Calcutta—a measure which was expected to paralyze the trade of Hooghly and Rajmahal as “nearly all

* Sair-ul-Mutakharin, I, 40, 41.

the best Captains in the employ of the Diwan of the Prince were Englishmen.”*

Next year (1709) the Prince and the Diwan Murshid Kuli Khan left Bengal for the imperial court, and Sher Buland Khan was sent to rule the Province in their stead. He at once proceeded to stop the boats at Rajmahal, and it was not until the English paid Rs. 45,000 that they obtained an order granting them the privilege of free trade in Bengal. In 1710 Prince Farrukhsiyar came to Rajmahal as the representative of his father Azim-us-Shan, and the English at once sent an agent to conciliate him, receiving in return a dress of honour for the President. The following year Khan Jahan Bahadur Izzud-daula, who had been appointed Deputy Governor, arrived at Rajmahal, where he seems to have done his best to ingratiate himself with the English by allowing their saltpetre boats to pass unmolested down the river and by granting them an order for free trade. Great confusion followed the death of the Emperor Bahadur Shah in 1712. Izzud-daula fortified himself at Rajmahal, as well as he could, guarding the neighbouring passes and intercepting all communications. He does not appear, however, to have offered any resistance to Farrukhsiyar, after he had himself proclaimed as Emperor at Patna, for the new Emperor advanced through the Teliagarhi pass on his way to Murshidabad without striking a blow.†

Rajmahal did not come into prominence during the last days of Muhammadan rule. It was taken in 1742 by the Marathas, who, we are told, “held the town and district of Rajmahal, and left nothing to Ali Vardi Khan but the city of Murshidabad and the country on the other side of the Ganges.”‡ Apparently they found a ready passage through the central valley of the hills and year after year swept down the Margo pass to the lowlands of Bengal. Subsequently in 1757 Siraj-ud-daula was captured hereby Mir Daud, the brother of Mir Jafar Ali Khan, who was then *Faujdar* or Governor of Rajmahal. Siraj-ud-daula, flying northwards after the battle of Plassey, went ashore near the town, being weary with confinement in the boats. In spite of his disguise, he was recognized by a man named Dana Shah, who had some

* *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 148-50, 161, 170, 180, 181, 198, 303.

† *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 186, 329, 342; Vol. II, pp. xxiii, xxiv, xxviii.

‡ *Sair-ul-Mutakharin*, I, 395; Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 284.

time before offended Siraj-ud-daula and had been punished by having his ears and nose cut off. "Thus mutilated and disgraced, he was living as a *fakir* at the very spot where Siraj-ud-daula's evil genius led him to land. Escaping quietly from the spot, Dana Shah gave information to Mir Daud, who promptly sent a guard to seize and conduct him to Murshidabad. Other officers laid hands on what property they could, and Mir Kasim, son-in-law and later on supplanter of Mir Jafar, took Lutfunnissa and her casket of jewels supposed to be worth many lakhs of rupees." A few hours later the advance guard of Law's detachment reached Rajmahal too late to save Siraj-ud-daula, for he was hurried off to Murshidabad, where he was murdered by Miran, the son of Mir Jafar Ali Khan.* Miran himself was buried at Rajmahal, having been killed by lightning in the Champaran district when on a campaign against the Nawab of Purnea in 1760. According to the *Sair-ul-Mutakharin*, "his body was put in a coffin and carried rapidly to the Ganges, where it was put into a boat, and hurried down the river as far as Rajmahal; but the abominable stench that exhaled from it obliged the messengers to land it immediately, and it was buried in a spot which now goes by the name of his monument." Three years later, in 1763, Udhua Nullah, six miles to the south, was the scene of Major Adams' victory over Mir Kasim Ali, a description of which will be found in the article on that place in Chapter XVI.

BRITISH
RULE.

Pacifica-
tion of the
Paharias.

The early history of British administration is mainly a record of their attempts to pacify the Paharias of the Rajmahal hills, called in the early correspondence the 'highlanders,' 'hillmen' or 'hill race.' The northern section use the designation Male and are commonly referred as the Maler (the plural of Male), a term which will be used in this account to distinguish them from the other branch of the race, the Mal Paharias of the hilly and wooded country to the south and west. This race of aboriginals, abhorring regular labour, eked out their meagre crops by the chase, and found a still more congenial occupation as robbers and cattle-lifters. The Mughal Government, seeing little prospect of obtaining revenue from their barren hills, had been content to leave the control of them to *mansabdars*, of whom the chief were members of the Khetauri family of Manihari. The founder of the

* C. R. Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, I, clxxviii, ccvi, ccvii; III, 210, 212, 213.

family is said to have seized the fort of Lakragarh and helped Akbar's general Man Singh to force the defiles through the hills, when he was invading Bengal. He was rewarded by the grant, as a *mansab jagir*, of the tract in which the Maler lived, and his descendants were overlords of the country from Rajmahal and Pakaur on the east of the hills to Colgong and Godda on their western face. Whether the control they exercised was effective or, as is more probable, was merely nominal, they appear to have been on good terms with the Maler till the middle of the 18th century when the Maler got completely out of hand.

Some of their chiefs having been treacherously murdered, the Maler stormed Lakragarh, drove out the Khetauri *jagirdars*, and commenced a series of raids on the lowland villages, which went unpunished during the political unrest at that time. A climax was reached during the famine of 1770, which pressed with peculiar severity upon the alluvial strip of country lying between the Rajmahal Hills and the Ganges. The outposts at the foot of the hills, which were manned by *ghatwals*, were abandoned, and the plains thus lay at the mercy of the Paharias who, owing to their practice of living upon jungle foods, had escaped the extremity of distress. It was, therefore, in the years following the famine of 1770 that the raids of the hillmen upon the low country became most frequent and most systematic. Plunder, no doubt, was their main object, but many of their inroads were in the first instance instigated by the landholders, who were in the habits of offering the Paharais a free passage through their own lands, on condition that they ravaged those of the neighbouring zamindars. The terror they occasioned was so widespread, that the alluvial country was deserted by its cultivators. No boat dare moor after dusk on the southern bank of the Ganges; and even the Government mail-runners, who in those days passed along the skirts of the hills, by way of Rajmahal and the Teliagarhi pass, were frequently robbed and murdered at the foot of the hills. The evil reputation the Paharias won by such raids may be gathered from the remarks of Bishop Heber in 1824 :—" A deadly feud existed for the last 40 years between them and the cultivators of the neighbouring lowlands, they being untamed thieves and murderers, continually making forays, and the Muhammadan zamindars killing them like mad dogs or tigers, whenever they got them within gunshot."

While the Maler to the north were committing these outrages without restraint, the Mal Paharias to the south were engaged in similar depredations, which reduced the people along the border to a state of terror. In these outrages they were supported by the *ghatwals*, such as the Bhuiya *ghatwal* of Lakshmipur, and by the zamindars, such as the proprietor of Sultanabad. "The hill people," wrote Cleveland in 1783, "are generally employed for plundering by the *ghatwals* and zamindari officers. It has been almost a general custom with the low country inhabitants of Sultanabad, Rajshahi and Birbhum to employ the hill people in plundering each other's villages. And almost every man has been so deeply concerned, that even the sufferers have been afraid to complain lest their iniquitous practices should be brought to light." These Mal Paharias are presumably the hillmen alluded to as follows by the Judge of the Benares Division in 1808—"At an early period of British administration that tract of country lying between Birbhum and Bhagalpur was in a state of extreme disorder. The inhabitants were in open arms against Government and its other subjects. A perpetual savage warfare was maintained by them against the inhabitants of the plains, and they were proscribed and hunted down like wild beasts; so that I have been informed by a gentleman who was at the time Collector of Birbhum, their heads were brought to him by basket loads."*

Captain
Brooke.

The necessity of bringing to book these freebooters forced itself on the attention of Warren Hastings. Acting on the suggestion of his military adviser, General Barker, he raised in 1772 a special corps about 800 strong, and placed it under the command of Captain Brooke, who was made Military Governor of the disturbed tract, *i.e.*, the north of this district and the south of Monghyr and Bhagalpur—the Jungleterry (Jungle Tarai) as it was called. His orders were to subdue the hill robbers and rebellious zamindars, and having subdued them and re-established order, to induce them to become cultivators instead of marauders and conform to the settled ways of peace. During the two years he spent in the hills, Captain Brooke did much to carry out the policy laid down by Warren Hastings. In 1773 he stormed the fort of Tiur, which held out till cannon were brought against it; and a number of successful expeditions in different parts of the hills helped, if not to break up, at least to disperse the bands

* Fifth Report (Madras Reprint, 1883), p. 767.

of marauders and make the Pahārias feel his power. At the same time, Brooke won the confidence of his enemies by his treatment of the prisoners he took and of their women and children, and induced them to come down and settle in the cultivable land below the hills. In 1774 he reported that he had founded no less than 283 villages between Udhua and Barkop, and in December of that year Warren Hastings proudly announced in a Despatch to the Court of Directors—“By the battalion employed in the Jungleterry, a tract of country which was considered as inaccessible and unknown, and only served as a receptacle for robbers, has been reduced to government, the inhabitants civilized, and not only the reduction of the revenues, which was occasioned by their ravages, prevented, but some revenue yielded from this country itself, which a prosecution of the same measures will improve.” Short as his tenure of office was, Captain Brooke may justly be described as the pioneer of civilization in the Rajmahal Hills.

His work was carried on by Captain James Browne, who in 1774 took over charge of the hill corps and till 1778 was in charge of the Jungle Tarai. During these years Captain Browne was busy in suppressing a rebellion of the Bhuyias, who ravaged the surrounding country under Jagannath Deo of Lakshmipur, in repressing the Pahārias and in bringing Ambar and Sultanabad to submission. His chief claim to fame, however, was the preparation of a scheme for the pacification and future administration of the Paharias, which was afterwards elaborated and carried into effect by Cleveland. The main feature of his scheme was the recognition of their tribal system. The hills were at this time divided into different divisions called *parganas* or *tappas*, each under a chief called a *sardar*, who sometimes had one or more assistants called *naibs*. The people themselves were settled in villages, each of which claimed a separate hill or range of hills and was presided over by a village chief, or headman, called *manjhi*. Browne proposed that this system of chiefs should be recognised and that their services should be enlisted for the preservation of peace and order. All transactions with the hill people were to be carried on through the *sardars* and *manjhis*, and intercourse with the inhabitants of the plains was to be encouraged by establishing markets on the outskirts of the hills. Those *sardars* whose *tappas* adjoined the public road were to be given stipends to prevent their making raids;

Captain
Browne.

and the old *chaukibandi* or chain of outposts,* which had been abandoned in 1770, was to be re-established and maintained by Government until the service lands attached to them had been brought under cultivation. The control of these outposts was to be made over to *thanadars* or police officers appointed by Government, who were again to be subordinate to *sazawals* or divisional superintendents. The police force was further to be strengthened by conferring grants of lands below the hills on invalid sepoys, on condition that they settled on their allotments and gave assistance in the event of a Paharia inroad. This scheme was sanctioned by Government in 1778, but next year, before he could carry it out, Captain Browne was directed to make over charge to Mr. Augustus Cleveland, who had been stationed at Rajmahal in 1773 as Assistant to the Collector, had been transferred to Bhagalpur in 1776, and was now appointed Collector.

Augustus
Cleveland.

The correspondence between Cleveland and Warren Hastings shows that soon after his appointment he had sketched out the lines of his policy for the treatment of the Paharias. He appears to have been impressed by their simplicity and truthfulness, and accepted their claim that they had always been independent, having been only connected with the lowland Rajas as subordinate allies. This belief in their good qualities and in their former independence inspired Cleveland to formulate a benevolent policy, to carry out which he applied for undivided authority over them. In his first letter to Warren Hastings, written in November 1779, he urged the necessity of the hills being under one authority and administered on one system. "Unless," he wrote, "the whole range of hills are put under one authority, and the same system of governing them adopted throughout, all the pains I am taking to put them in my own district on a proper footing (particularly those to the southward of the eastern and western ranges, the one joining with Ambar and the other running close upon the back of Sultanabad) will be in vain, as I am myself thoroughly convinced that all the inhabitants of the hills may in a short time be induced to submit. As a proof of which, within these nine months I have had the most flattering experience of the good effects

* The zamindars at the foot of the hills had been granted *jagir* or service land in consideration of maintaining these outposts to guard the passes. They are said to have been so close, that the firing of a musket at one gave the alarm to the next.

to be expected from the system I have adopted, no less than forty-seven hill chiefs and all their adherents having voluntarily submitted to me and taken an oath of allegiance to Government during that time; and I make no doubt, if the same system continues to be adopted, there is not a chief in that vast extent of country who will not gladly renounce his hitherto precarious and desperate way of life for the ease and comforts he will enjoy in being obedient to, and under the protection of, a mild and regular government. They have never yet been fairly put to the test how far their dispositions may incline them to be upon good terms with us. We have till lately considered them as enemies, and they have been treated accordingly. It is but consonant with our own principles of justice and humanity to use every means in our power to avoid a state of warfare; why should they be denied to this unfortunate people? I must do those who have submitted the justice to say—and I call all the inhabitants of this country in general to witness—that the hill people have not for many years been so quiet as they have been for these last eight or nine months, except, as I before mentioned, near the boundary of Ambar.”

Subsequently in a letter from Sakrigali, dated 21st November 1780, Cleveland proposed a comprehensive plan which throws such light on the state of the country and on his principles, that it may be quoted at length. “These people, in general, are now become so sensible of the advantages to be derived from a firm attachment and submission to Government that many of them have not scrupled to declare they would for ever renounce all unlawful practices of robbery, murders and devastations if Government would point out and secure to them the means of subsistence, the want of which has frequently obliged them to commit acts, they seem to have some idea, are not only improper but inhuman. This naturally led into a proposal which I have long had in meditation, and is grounded on the following principles. The inhabitants of the hills have in fact no property: a mere subsistence is all they seem to require, to obtain which the means appear as a secondary consideration. The first question that occurs, therefore, is whether it is for the interest of Government to supply the means of subsistence for a certain time, or to suffer the inhabitants of the hills to commit devastations on the country, as they have done for many years past. Certainly, the former. For although the losses which Government has experienced in its receipts of revenue on this account have, in fact, been trifling owing to the rigid

observance of the engagements entered into with the zamindars and farmers, yet the sufferings of the low country inhabitants during the hill insurrections are not to be described. To make friends therefore with the hill chiefs is, with all due submission, an object worthy of the attention of Government. In the memory of the oldest inhabitants they never expressed themselves so earnestly for an accommodation as at present.

“The disbursement and, of course, the circulation of money in the hills by Government appears to me the most likely bait to ensure the attachment of the chiefs, and at the same time nothing will be so conducive to the civilization of the inhabitants as to employ a number of them in our service. On these principles I have taken the liberty to make the following proposal which the hill people have cheerfully agreed to provided they meet with your approbation. (1) That each manjei or chief, estimated at about 400, shall furnish one or more men as they may be required to be incorporated into a corps of archers. (2) That a chief shall be appointed to every 50 men and shall be accountable for the good behaviour of their respective division in the corps. (3) That the corps for the present shall act immediately under the orders of the Collector of Boglipore and be employed in his district only. (4) That the enemies of Government are to be considered as enemies by the hill people, and that it shall be expressly and particularly the duty of the corps to bring all refractory hill chiefs and Gautwalls to terms or to expel them from their country, and treat them as enemies wherever they may be found. (5) That each hill chief commanding a division in the corps shall have an allowance of Rs. 5 per mensem, the common people Rs. 3; and effectually to secure the manjeys or chiefs of the several hills in a firm attachment to Government, each chief supplying a common man for the corps shall receive a monthly allowance of Rs. 2, subject however to such restrictions as may be thought necessary in case of misbehaviour. (6) That each man in the corps shall have two turbans, two cummerbunds, two shirts, two pairs of jungheas and a purple jacket annually.”

Cleveland estimated the annual cost of this scheme at Rs. 29,440, which he admitted appeared to be “an enormous disbursement, where no apparent advantage to the Company’s revenue was likely to be immediately derived from it.” He added, however, that the scheme deserved consideration in view of the advantages likely to accrue to “a race of people

hitherto little better than savages, who will in course of time become useful members to the community in the very heart of your dominions, and of the confidence which the inhabitants of the adjacent country would enjoy when they were no longer apprehensive of continued devastations and murders." Warren Hastings objected to the enrolment of the corps of archers on the ground of its heavy expense; but sanctioned another scheme which Mr. Cleveland proposed for granting allowances of Rs. 10 a month to all *sardars* and of Rs. 5 a month to their *naibs* or deputies; *manjhis* were to receive no allowance at all.*

The chiefs of the northern hills gladly accepted the allowances, but they were refused by the chiefs in the hills to the south, on the ground that they were exposed to inroads from Ambar (Pakaur) and Sultanabad (Maheshpur). For these reasons, wrote Cleveland in September 1780, "the chiefs in question declined to accept the allowances, unless similar arrangements take place in Ambar and Sultanabad, and the chiefs and deputies there are bound by the same penalties to be answerable for the good order and management of their respective districts." The remedy he proposed was the transfer of these two *parganas* (then in Rajshahi) to his jurisdiction, and this measure was carried out in 1781. The result was the extension of the hill system to the Mal Paharies, of whom a portion only resided in the hills, the rest being found in the rolling country to the south and west, where they were the ryots of the zamindars in whose estates they had settled.

Next year (1782) the enrolment of the corps of archers was sanctioned, mainly in consequence of the approval of the scheme by General Sir Eyre Coote, before whom Cleveland had laid it when on his way up-country through Bhagalpur. The strength of the corps was about 1,300, and the men were armed with bows and arrows, their commandant being one Jaurah, once a noted bandit, who, according to Cleveland, was the first inhabitant of the hills to enter the service of Government. Bishop Heber tells us that he was "the Rob Roy or, perhaps, more strictly speaking, the Roderic Dhu of the Rajmahals, the most popular of all others among his own countrymen, and the most dreaded by the lowlanders. The choice was fully justified by the event, Jaurah having remained through life a bold, active and faithful servant of the Company

* Para. 41 of Mr. Sutherland's report, dated the 8th June 1819.

in different enterprises against outlaws, both in the Ramghar hills and his own mountains." Within a year of its enlistment the corps had proved its worth, Cleveland reporting in February 1783 :—" Since the establishment of the corps of hill archers, this is the third time I have had occasion to employ them against their brethren. And as they have always succeeded in the business they have been sent upon, I flatter myself the Honourable Board will not only be convinced of the utility and attachment of the corps, but that they will have full confidence in the general system which I have adopted for the management of this wild and extensive country." Shortly after this, sanction was given to a proposal of Cleveland that the corps should be drilled and armed like regular sepoys, and also (in 1782) to his suggestion that offences committed by the hill people should be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts and tried by a tribunal of chiefs presided over by himself.

Two years later Cleveland died at the early age of 29. The verdict of his contemporaries on his work will be found in the inscription on the monument erected to his memory at Bhagalpur. It runs as follows :—"To the memory of Augustus Cleveland, Esq., late Collector of the Districts of Bhaugulpore and Rajamahall, who, without bloodshed or the terror of authority, employing only the means of conciliation, confidence, and benevolence, attempted and accomplished the entire subjection of the lawless and savage inhabitants of the Jungleterry of Rajamahall, who had long infested the neighbouring lands by the predatory incursions, inspired them with a taste for the arts of civilised life, and attached them to the British Government by a conquest over their minds—the most permanent, as the most rational mode of dominion. The Governor-General and Council of Bengal, in honour of his character and for an example to others, have ordered this monument to be erected. He departed this life on the 13th of January 1784, aged 29." The same high estimation of his work is expressed in more stilted language in a monody of over 150 lines composed by Lord Teignmouth, which will be found in the Asiatic Annual Register of 1799 (pp. 191-194).

In the short time Cleveland had ruled over the Paharias, he had gained their confidence, and to this day they revere the memory of Chilimili Saheb, as they call him. The secret of his success appears to have been his personal influence and his real sympathy with these primitive people. He went among them unarmed and almost unattended, made frequent

shooting excursions in the hills, distributed presents among them, and gave feasts to hundreds of the hillmen at a time. He also established regular bazars in the villages at the foot of the hills, to which he encouraged them to bring down and sell their produce, such as game, wax, hides and honey. He gave them wheat and barley seed, and encouraged cultivation by the assurance that they should not be taxed, and that none but their own chiefs should have authority over them.

There can be little doubt that Cleveland's policy was effectual in pacifying the Paharias and that its good effects continued for nearly 40 years after his death. This is clear from the remarks of Mr. Ward in 1827. "I have," he wrote, "seen a great deal of this country and have been in the habit of frequent intercourse with the inhabitants; the form of police as established in the hills appears to me to be well calculated for the country and not, as far as I am able to judge, capable of admitting of improvement. Crime and affrays are, I believe, of rare occurrence there, but when they are committed, the *sardars* never fail to deliver up the delinquent to take his trial before the proper authority. Under the present system the hill people are quiet and content. I ascribe this to that good policy which dictated making the *sardars* the governors over this rude race and solely responsible for the preservation of peace and good order in their country. However rude the people may be considered, they are extremely tenacious of the rights which were conferred upon them by Mr. Cleveland; they are proud of the offices to which they were appointed by their great benefactor, especially that which appointed them judges in the trials of their countrymen; and exercise of these functions gives them, in the eyes of their countrymen, an importance which ensures on all occasions respect and obedience."

One feature of Cleveland's system still survives, the Paharia *sardars*, *naibs* and *manjhis* being stipendiaries of Government. They are paid sums varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 2 per month, in return for which all they have to attend the Magistrate's court periodically and report offences and vital statistics. "It is," writes Mr. (now Sir) H. McPherson, I.C.S., "a somewhat expensive link with civilization, costing Government over Rs. 13,000 annually, but in justice to Mr. Cleveland it should be remembered that he did not intend the arrangement to be more than temporary. Its object was to eke out the hill people's scanty means of subsistence and be a guarantee of good order till the arts of

civilization should have taken root amongst them, for Mr. Cleveland confidently believed that at no distant date they would descend to the plains and take to cultivation and manufactures. The natural indolence of the mountaineers and their aversion to sustain honest labour were perhaps sufficient without the encouragement of the pensions to prevent the desired result.....Reflections have been cast on the lavish expense of Mr. Cleveland's system and doubts have been entertained as to its necessity, but there can be no doubt that it was immediately and continuously effective in securing the good behaviour of the Paharias and the freedom of the surrounding country from the troubles which had so long afflicted it. It was also in the long run a financial success, for one of its results was to deprive adjacent zamindars of even that nominal control which they may have once exercised over the hill people; and thus the way was paved for the separation of the Damin-i-koh as a Government estate, the development of which has added so materially to the land revenue resources of the district. This separation might have happened apart from Cleveland's hill system, but the hill system made it inevitable."

Other schemes devised by Cleveland for the benefit of the Paharias fell to the ground after his death. For some years the Hill Corps, to which the title of the Bhagalpur Hill Rangers was now given, remained a serviceable body of men—largely, it appears, owing to the appointment of Lieutenant Shaw to its command in 1787. Later, however, it became "a mere rabble addicted to all sorts of vices and disorders." The hill assemblies or tribunals, when no longer kept together by the personal influence of Cleveland, became almost unmanageable. Considerable difficulty was experienced in getting the chiefs to meet at all; and when present they would not attend to the proceedings of the court, while their sentences were hasty and capricious. It was found too that even when the assemblies could be induced to do their work, the power they had been entrusted with was too uncontrolled and that the exemption of the Paharias from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts was a measure of doubtful policy. Cleveland's plans for teaching simple manufactures and supplying them with seeds and agricultural implements were not carried on; the school he started for their education was dropped; the stipends promised to the tribal chiefs for maintaining peace and order, though regularly paid by Government, did not reach them; and the zamindars encroached on their lands.

An attempt to remedy this state of affairs was made by the Marquis of Hastings, Governor-General from 1814-23. He made a short excursion into the Rajmahal Hills with Lady Hastings, and promised to send them a quantity of seed potatoes and a stock of agricultural implements—for they still used only sharpened stakes to dig the ground—but unfortunately his promise was overlooked. He also revived the school started by Cleveland, and reorganized the Hill Rangers, though he was unable to carry out his intention of arming two companies with rifles, because, it is said, the men disliked the service exceedingly, having a strong objection to wearing green.*

The breakdown of Cleveland's system may be ascribed to the want of interest shown by his successors, with the exception of Mr. Fombelle. It was during his time that the rules introduced by Cleveland for the trial of criminal cases by the hill assembly were incorporated in Regulation I of 1796, which provided that the Magistrate should commit all important cases to be tried before an assembly of hill chiefs. The Magistrate was to attend the trial as Superintending Officer, and confirm or modify the sentence, if not exceeding fourteen years' imprisonment. Higher sentences were referred to the Nizam Adalat, as the Supreme Criminal Court was then called. This system continued till 1827, when the hillmen were declared amenable to the ordinary courts, but some of the hill *manjhis* were to sit with the Magistrate as assessors, and the *manjhis* were also to settle disputes about land and succession, and to decide claims to money, if the claim was not for more than Rs. 100. Mr. Fombelle also succeeded in obtaining sanction in 1795 to the proposal that *pargana* Belpata should be transferred from Birblam and brought under the hill system—a proposal made by Cleveland some years before—and also the hill portion of *pargana* Nuni to the south-east.

After Mr. Fombelle's time, the administration of the hills was left with very inadequate supervision in the hands of Abdul Rasul Khan, who had done good work under Captain Browne and had been made *sazawal* under Cleveland. He now became practically ruler of the hills, and is to this day remembered by the hill people as "Con Sahab". He abused the trust reposed in him, and his corruption and tyranny led to numerous complaints. These complaints, and the

*Bishop Heber's *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*, 1828.

disputes between the hillmen and the lowland zamindars, caused Government in 1818 to depute Mr. Sutherland, Joint Magistrate of Bhagalpur, to enquire into his conduct, to report generally on the measures necessary for the future administration of the hills, and to ascertain on what tenures the Paharias held their land and what were their relations to Government. After a detailed enquiry, in the course of which he traversed the whole of the tract, Mr. Sutherland recommended in 1819—

- (1) That Government should declare that the hill tract occupied by the hill people was the property of Government alone.
- (2) That the level country skirting the external ranges of hills was distinct from the adjoining zamindari estates and was also its property.
- (3) That measures should be taken for defining the extent of the skirts of the hills and the hilly tract.
- (4) That the defects in the administration of justice amongst the hill people under Regulation I of 1796 be removed by declaring the inhabitants of the hills amenable to the jurisdiction of the Criminal Courts and subject to the ordinary system of police and by investing the Magistrate of Bhagalpur with summary powers for the adjustment of certain civil claims and
- (5) That the payment of the stipends then amounting to Rs. 1,301 a month enjoyed by the *sardars*, *naibs* and the inferior *manjhis* at Rs. 10, Rs. 3 and Rs. 2, respectively, under Mr. Turner's rules of 1807 be regulated on a more sound basis.

These recommendations were accepted by Government in 1823, (Resolution dated 17th July 1823) and in 1824 the Hon'ble Mr. John Petty Ward was deputed to demarcate the Damin-i-koh with the assistance of a survey officer named Captain Tanner. The work was concluded in 1833, and in 1837 Mr. Pontet was placed in charge of its revenue administration under the title of Superintendent of the Damin-i-koh, being specially instructed to give the Santals, who were now pouring in, every encouragement in the work of clearing jungle. So successfully did he fulfil his task, that by 1851 the revenue had been raised from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 43,919, and the influx of Santals into the Damin-i-koh had been so great, that they numbered 82,795 residing in 1,473 villages. According to a contemporary notice in the *Friend of India* :—

“ With little more jurisdiction than that of a Deputy Collector, he (Mr. Pontet) has acquired among these wild people a power that is almost regal. The most observant wayfarers can instantly discover the circle of Mr. Pontet's jurisdiction; for whereas beyond it there are villages containing five

thousand inhabitants without one solitary hackery, within it there are broad roads from village to village, and the country is alive with the activity of a quiet and prosperous people." A few years after these words were written the Santal broke out in rebellion.

The Santals seem to have settled first in the district between 1790 and 1810, having made their way northwards from Birbhum, where they had been brought in about 1790 to clear jungle and drive out the wild beasts which then infested the country. The exact date at which the first body of immigrants came is not known, but the unpublished manuscript of Buchanan Hamilton shows that a number of them had settled in the Dumka subdivision by 1809, "having come last from Birbhum in consequence of the annoyance which they received from its zamindars." Between 1815 and 1830 there appears to have been a further advance of the Santals. In 1818 Mr. Sutherland found them busy clearing the forest below the hills in the Godda subdivision; in 1827 Mr. Ward noticed that they had settled in the extreme north of the same subdivision; while a report of Mr. Dunbar, Collector of Bhagalpur, shows that by 1836 no less than 427 villages had been established in the Damin-i-koh "inhabited by the Santals and Bhuiyas, but chiefly by the former." Under the administration of Mr. Pontet, who was directed to give them every encouragement in clearing jungle, the Santals spread far afield without much opposition from the idle Paharias, and even penetrated to the Burhait valley in the heart of the Rajmahal Hills. "This valley," wrote Captain Sherwill in 1851, "viewed from any of the surrounding hills affords an admirable example of what can be done with natives, when their natural industry and perseverance are guarded and encouraged by kindness. When Mr. Pontet took charge of the hills in 1835, this valley was a wilderness, inhabited here and there by hillmen; the remainder was over-run with heavy forest, in which wild elephants and tigers were numerous; but now in 1851 several hundred substantial Santal villagers, with an abundance of cattle and surrounded by luxuriant crops, occupy this hitherto neglected spot. The hillmen have with a few exceptions retired to the hills."

SANTAL
REBELLION

It was among the Santal settlers in the Damin-i-koh that the rebellion of 1855, known as the *hul*, had its origin, the older settlers of the Dumka subdivision taking little part in it. The causes of the rebellion were several, the Santals

themselves declaring that their chief grievances were the prevalence of falsehood, the negligence of the *sahibs*, the extortion of the *mahajans*, the corruption of the *amlas*, and the oppression of the police. All these grievances were due very largely to the absence of European officers and the presence of Bengali and other *Dikku*, i.e., non-Santal, immigrants, who had flocked in to carry on trade and money-lending among the Santals. The district as now constituted was divided between Bhagalpur and Birbhum, and the only resident Magistrate was at Deoghar. The revenue administration of the Damin-i-koh was under the Superintendent, assisted by four *naib sazwals*, who used to visit it in order to collect rent and settle disputes about lands. The Superintendent was the only European official who visited the Damin, and he had no authority to deal with civil and criminal cases. The Santal had therefore to make his way to the courts at Deoghar and Bhagalpur. Justice was thus far off; the Bengali *mahajan* was at his door. The Santal, thriftless and improvident, easily got into debt; exorbitant interest was charged, and once he had contracted a debt he had little chance of escape.

If his creditor sued him, all the evidence the Santal could produce was a knotted string, in which the knots represented the number of rupees he had received and the spaces between them the years which had elapsed since he took the loan. The usurer, on the other hand, had his ledgers and day-book ready, all carefully written up, and a bond or a deed of sale, or a mortgage, perhaps, forged for the occasion. Often he did not trouble to refer to the courts to realise his capital and interest. He simply sent his agents and swept off his debtor's cattle. The Santal, ignorant and timid, felt that it was a hopeless task for him to obtain redress against a wealthy oppressor. He seldom lodged a complaint, for his sole wealth consisting of his cattle, he could not fee *mukhtars* and *amlas*. Should he overcome these difficulties and venture to complain, he probably would only get an order on the police to enquire and report, and the police played into the hands of the money-lender. In the Damin-i-koh, therefore, Government asserted its position neither through the courts nor through the executive. The courts were remote and practically inaccessible; their processes were served by corrupt *amlas* and peons. The executive was represented by the *naib sazwals* or *darogas*, also corrupt and oppressive, who were ready instruments in the hands of the *mahajan*, besides making exactions

on their own account. Not only did the Santals find themselves neglected, but they saw very different treatment given to their neighbours, the Paharias, who had special police rules and were exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts.

Outside the Damin-i-koh, in zamindari areas, the Santal was better off, for though *mahajans* had been allowed to settle freely in the villages, the old zamindars were at least a counterbalancing force and prevented them usurping too much power. The latter, however, were being supplanted by the hated *Dikkus* or foreigners, who ousted their Santal tenants from the lands they had cleared. These lands had been settled with them by the original zamindars on long leases at easy rates that they might reclaim jungle. As cultivation extended, the Bengalis and other foreigners induced the Santals to sell some of their surplus lands. They thus gradually extended their holdings, and finally secured the best lands in the village by exacting mortgages from the improvident Santals in return for loans. Many of the Santals were consequently driven to commence life again by clearing fresh jungle and founding new villages, to be again ousted by their more astute and unscrupulous neighbours. Several old *ghatwal* families and petty landholders having also got into difficulties, their estates were sold and passed into the hands of the *Dikkus*. In some cases, again, old families became indebted to Bengalis and executed usufructuary mortgages of their estates for a term of years on the understanding that the mortgagees would pay the Government revenue. The latter, however, wilfully omitted to pay the revenue, and the result was that the landlord was declared a defaulter and his estate sold, the mortgagee himself eventually becoming a *benami* purchaser. As long as the old proprietors remained, the Santals were well treated, but after the advent of Bengalis and other land speculators, no consideration was shown to them. The new landlords were non-resident; they rack-rented the ryots, and the latter in despair gave up their leases and were replaced by strangers.

Another device which worked much mischief among the Santals was the execution of bonds, by which the debtor promised to work out his debt by personal service and the payment of an exorbitant rate of interest. The Santal thus became a *kamiya*, i.e., the bond servant of his creditor. The effects of this system may be realized from the remarks of Mr. (later Sir) William LeFleming Robinson, I.C.S., who in

1858 secured its abolition in the Santal Parganas. " It was called Kamiotee, but it is not peculiar to Sonthalia or the Sonthals. You will find it nearly all over the country, I believe, in one form or another. But in Sonthalia it was very bad. A man borrowed money and gave a bond to work it out, binding himself to work for the lender, whenever he was required, without pay. The lender of course required his services at harvest and the other busy seasons of the year, when the debtor could have got work and pay elsewhere; and when work was slack, the lender of course did not require his slave's services. He could make nothing elsewhere; all he got when working was food, and sometimes a bit of cloth once a year. As interest was taken in advance, the debtor could never work out his debt; the interest was never less than 25 per cent., often much more. The son, daughter or other nearest relation of the debtor used in case of his death to be considered liable, and if suits were brought against these bonds in the old Munsiff's courts, they used to give decrees for their due execution, no matter how old the debt or who was working it out at the time. I have had a bond brought to me in which Rs. 25 was originally borrowed by a man who worked his lifetime, his son did ditto, and I released his grandson from any further necessity; it had been running on for over thirty years, if I remember rightly! " The discontent of the Santals under this system was accentuated by the good wages obtained by free labourers. The latter went away to work on the railway, which was then under construction, and returning with their savings were able to deck out their women in simple finery and feast their fellow villagers.

Last, but by no means least, there was another influence at work, viz., the Santals' yearning for independence and for recognition as lords of the soil—a motive which inspired them with the idea of establishing a kingdom for themselves under their own *Subahs* or chiefs.

The grievances of the Santals had for some time produced a spirit of unrest, which resulted, in 1854, in a number of *mahajans'* houses being attacked at night. These outrages were treated as ordinary dacoities, and their perpetrators were caught, tried and convicted, protesting bitterly that their oppressors were not even rebuked. In January 1855 two gang robberies were committed by Santals, but Government ordered the release of the convicted robbers, as it appeared

that the crime was due to the oppression of usurers. It seems probable that this act of clemency was regarded by the Santals as a confession of weakness. However that may be, in July 1855 a revolt broke out among the Santals, who found leaders in four brothers named Sidu, Khanu, Chandu and Bhairab, inhabitants of the village of Bhagnadihi, a short distance south of Burhait, which had suffered much from the Hindu usurers. All four were landless men, and Sidu and Khanu, who were the leading spirits, had long been brooding over their real or imaginary wrongs. They now gave out that they had witnessed a divine apparition and been charged with a divine message. The story ran that a Thakur or god appeared to them in the form of a white man, dressed like a native, with ten fingers on each hand. He wrote in a book, which he gave the brothers, together with 20 pieces of paper in five batches. He then ascended upwards and disappeared, after which two men appeared, each with six fingers on each hand, and having told them the purport of the Thakur's order, likewise vanished. For some time the god appeared to the two brothers every day : at one time as a flame of fire, with a book, some white paper and a knife; at another in the form of a solid cart wheel. A shrine was erected consisting of a mound of mud crowned by a cart wheel, at which the villagers were instructed to present offerings of grain and milk, and to sacrifice kids and buffaloes. Here the worshippers were shown the slips of paper and the book (which proved to be none other than the Gospel according to St. John), and were told that in them were written the orders of the god. The news of the miracle spread far and wide, and messengers were sent to all the *manjhis* of the Damin-i-koh, bearing a branch of the *sal* tree, which, like the fiery cross of the Highlands, was a signal to the people to gather together.

On the appointed day, the 30th June 1855, at full moon, 10,000 Santals are said to have met at Bhagnadihi, where the Thakur's orders to them were announced. Letters are said to have been written addressed to Government, to the authorities at Bhagalpur and Birbhum, to some police *darogas*, zamindars and others, informing them of these orders. The Santals, it is said, disclaimed any intentions of opposing the Government, and declared that their new god had directed them to collect and pay revenue to the State, at the rate of two annas on every buffalo-plough, one anna on each bullock-plough, and half-an-anna on each cow-plough

per annum. The rate of interest upon loans was to be one pice in the rupee yearly. The Santals were further enjoined to slaughter at once all the *mahajans* and *darogas*, to banish the traders and zamindars and all rich Bengalis from their country, to sever their connection with the Damin-i-koh, and to fight all who resisted them, for the bullets of their enemies would be turned to water. Whatever may be the truth of this story, there is no trace of any letters containing this proclamation having been received by the authorities. It appears, however, that Khanu and Sidu proclaimed themselves lords of the country under the title of *Subahs*, and appointed *naibs*, *darogas* and other subordinate officers.

The *daroga* of Dighi or Burio Bazar having heard of the gathering, set out with a following of *barkandazes* to arrest the four brothers, instigated, it is said, by some Hindu money-lenders, who feared for themselves and bribed him to bring a false charge of dacoity against them. When he met the Santals assembled at Pachkutia, a little north of Barhait, they refused to disperse, and directed him to levy a tax of Rs. 5 on every Bengali family in the neighbourhood. Then, on his angrily ordering the arrest of the brothers, they fell on him with their battle-axes and cut off his head. After this murder, the Santals set out on the war trail. The Collector of Bhagalpur and Mr. Pontet were at the time at Rajmahal, where they took shelter in the old Sangidalan or palace of Shah Shuja, then the house of the Railway Engineer, Mr. Vigors. This was barricaded and fortified, and they and the railway officials held it against the attacks of the rebels until troops arrived. When the news of the outbreak reached Bhagalpur, the Hill Rangers were called out and advanced to Pialapur, but they were beaten off the field by the Santals, in spite of the latter being armed only with bows and arrows. The Santals were left masters of the country and ravaged it from Colong on the west to Rajmahal on the east, and nearly as far as Raniganj and Sainthia on the south.

The first move against them was made by a detachment of 400 men of the 7th Native Infantry, which, on the 11th July, advanced from Berhampore under Mr. Toogood, the Magistrate of Murshidabad. The rebels had marched eastward and after killing a *sazawal* known as Khan Sahib, had fired the house of the Raja of Ambar at Kadamisair, a few miles south of Pakaur. They next attacked an indigo factory

at the same place, but were held in check by the planter, Mr. C. Maseyk, who, with two companions armed with fowling pieces, fired at them from a boat in the middle of a nullah. News of the attack was sent to his brother at Dullian, and the civil authorities sent up 160 police, who forced the rebels to retreat. Unable to effect their purpose, the Santals moved on, destroying some railway works and sacking Pakaur, and then fell on Palsa in Birbhum. The troops arrived at Kadamisair shortly after the Santals had left, and pursued them to Palsa, too late, however, to save it from being sacked. They marched on the same night to Maheshpur, where they signally defeated the rebels next morning (July 15th); Sidu, Khanu and Bhairab were wounded, though not mortally, and 200 other Santals killed and wounded. Chandu and Khanu met another reverse at Raghunathpur not long afterwards; and at Maheshpur, which was garrisoned by a detachment of the 7th Native Infantry, the Santals failed in an attack on the Raja's house, which they wanted as a residence for their *Subah*. A few days later the troops, after overcoming a faint resistance, forced the passes in the hills, and on the 24th July took Burhait, the Santal capital; while Sidu was treacherously handed over to the Bhagalpur troops by some of his followers.

Towards the end of July all the troops available had been mobilized and placed under the command of Brigadier-General Lloyd, who had already acquired some fame as the founder of Darjeeling, and subsequently tarnished his reputation by his failure to suppress the mutiny at Dinapore in 1857. Colonel Bird was shortly afterwards appointed to the special command of the troops employed in the Bankura and Birbhum districts. General Lloyd was not, however, given full and independent authority; for though he was at first informed that Government placed the conduct of the operations entirely in his hands, an order issued on the 30th July stated that "it was not intended that the military should act independently of the civil power, but that only the nature of the military operations should be entirely in the hands of the military commanders." There were consequently misunderstandings between the civil and military officers, and the Governor of India also refused to permit the Lieutenant-Governor to proclaim martial law. Within a month, however, the country to the north, towards Bhagalpur, had been cleared and the insurgents driven southwards, and in the south quiet

had been restored to some parts. But there were still 30,000 men in arms, and after each reverse they took refuge in the jungle, from which it was difficult to expel them during the rains.

The local Government now issued a proclamation offering a free pardon to all who would come in and submit within ten days, except ring-leaders and persons proved to have committed murder. The offer was treated as a confession of weakness, and in September the rebels showed renewed activity. By the end of that month the whole country from Deoghar to the south-western border of the district was in their hands. In one direction an army of Santals moved through the district three thousand strong, and in another their number amounted to seven thousand. The beginning of cold weather, however, enabled the troops to take the field with greater effect, and on the 10th of November martial law was proclaimed, *i.e.*, it was directed that any one taken in arms in open hostility to Government, or opposing its authority by force of arms, or committing any overt act of rebellion, should be tried by Court Martial and, if convicted, immediately executed. A large force now swept through the country, to which little resistance was offered by the Santals, who, unable to break through the cordon of troops, in some places 12,000 to 14,000 strong, were weakened by hunger and disease. The combined effect of the proclamation and of the activity of the troops was soon apparent. Driven out of the open country, the Santals were forced back to the jungles, and a number of their leaders were captured, including Khanu, who was taken prisoner near Uparbanda, north-east of Jamtara, by the *sardar ghatwal* of Kunjra. Eventually, on the 3rd January 1856, quiet had been so far restored, that the Government of India were able to suspend the further operation of martial law. There were a few outbreaks after this, but the rebels were thoroughly broken and cowed; and by the end of the cold weather the rising was at an end.

The rebellion was marked throughout by scenes of inhuman cruelty, *e.g.*, slow roasting of men, torture of children, the ripping up of women, the drinking of blood, etc. Villages were burnt, property pillaged, and the country devastated. The most brutal outrages were committed on the Bengalis, whom the Santals regarded as their real enemies. When a *mahajan* fell into their hands, they first cut off his feet with their *pharsas* or battle-axes with the taunt

that that was 4 annas in the rupee, then cut off his legs at the thigh to make up 8 annas, then cut him in two at his waist to make up 12 annas, and finally took off his head to complete the 16 annas, shouting "*Pharkati*," i.e., a full quittance. A similar savage sense of humour was displayed by them in chopping up the body of a zamindar into 22 pieces, one for each of his ancestors. They themselves declared that they warred against the Bengalis and not against the English, and there is a story that they sent *parwanas* informing some indigo planters that as they were cultivators like themselves, they would not be molested, if they stayed in their factories and supplied them with *rasad*. Unfortunately for these claims, there are authentic cases of their murdering defenceless Europeans as well as burning down their bungalows and destroying railway works. In one case two unfortunate European ladies were cut down when trying to escape, and in another an old planter and his three sons were murdered near Teliagarhi, when they tried to defend a village against one of the Santal bands. The natives all fled, and the elephant carrying the father and one young man ran into a *jhil*; the Santals then scaled up its side and spilt open their heads, while the other two sons fell pierced by arrows.

At the same time the Santals showed a certain chivalry in the struggle against the troops. Although it was their custom to use poisoned arrows in shooting and hunting, they did not use them against the soldiers. There is, at least, one instance of their giving fair warning before making an attack, for having captured a *dak* runner and looted his mail bags, they spared his life on condition that he went to Suri carrying a branch of the *sal* tree with three leaves on it, to show that in three days they would attack the town. They also showed the most reckless courage. In one case 45 Santals had taken refuge in a mud house and refused to surrender. Volley and volley was fired in, and at every volley quarter was offered; but each time the Santals answered with a discharge of arrows. At last, when their fire slackened, the troops entered the huts and found only one old man alive. A sepoy called on him to lay down his arms, whereupon the old man rushed on the sepoy and cut him down with his battle-axe. The general character of the struggle has been vividly described by Major Jervis, who commanded some of the troops. "It was not war; they did not understand yielding. As long as

their national drum beat, the whole party would stand, and allow themselves to be shot down. Their arrows often killed our men, and so we had to fire on them as long as they stood. When their drum ceased, they would move off for a quarter of a mile; then their drums began again, and they calmly stood till we came up and poured a few volleys into them. There was not a sepoy in the war who did not feel ashamed of himself." The conduct of the Paharias was very dissimilar. They followed the Santal bands at a respectable distance, and waited until the latter had driven away the peaceful inhabitants of the villages. Then they rushed in, and taking advantage of their absence and of the Santals pursuing, seized everything they could lay hands on and speedily retired, leaving to the Santals all the fighting and but little of the plunder.*

The Government and the public alike had been taken by surprise by the rebellion, and while it raged, the most drastic measures for pacifying the Santals were proposed. It was remarked, for instance, by a writer in *The Friend of India* :—" It is only by striking terror into these blood-thirsty savages, who have respected neither age nor sex, that we can hope to quell this insurrection. It is necessary to avenge the outrages committed, and to protect the cultivators of the plains from a repetition of them. The Santals believe that they can enjoy the luxury of blood and plunder for a month without a certainty of retribution. It is absolutely necessary that this impression should be removed or obliterated, if Government would not in these districts sit on bayonet points. To achieve this end, the retribution must be complete, leaving no calculation of chances for future rioters; striking, that none may fail to know and understand; and tremendous, that people may know their lives and happiness are not held of light account. It is to Pegu that we would convey the Santals, not one or two of their ringleaders, but the entire population of the infected district." After the close of the rebellion milder counsels prevailed. A special enquiry was made, and it was recognized that the Santals had genuine grievances.

* This account of the rebellion has been compiled from *The Sonthal Rebellion*, Calcutta Review, 1856; *The Sonthal Pergunnahs*, Calcutta Review, 1860; *Sonthalia and the Sonthals*, by E. G. Man, 1867; and *The Annals of Rural Bengal*, by Sir W. W. Hunter.

It was decided that a special system of administration should be introduced, and Act XXXVII of 1855 was passed, which removed from the operation of the general laws and regulations "the district called the Damin-i-koh and other districts which are inhabited chiefly by the uncivilized race of people called Sonthals". This area was separated from the districts of Bhagalpur and Birbhum and formed into four sub-districts, viz., Dumka, Deoghar, (including Jamtara), Godda and Rajmahal, (including Pakaur), which were known collectively as the Santal Parganas. These sub-districts were placed under a Deputy Commissioner and four Assistant Commissioners, who were given jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases. This was followed by the Police Rules of 1856, originally drafted by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Ashley Eden, the first Deputy Commissioner of the district and best known as "Yules Rules" after the name of Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Yule, the then Commissioner of Bhagalpur. They abolished the Naib-sazowals and their underlings and in their stead established a self-governing police throughout the district. The main feature of these rules was that in the Santal villages, the Manjhi or the village headman was vested with Police powers to be exercised in his own village assisted by the village chaukidar. The chief Police powers and the power of supervision were vested in the Parganait assisted by the Deshmanjhi, chaukidar and Gorait. In the hills, similar powers were given to the Manjhis under the supervision of the Sardars assisted by their Naibs. In the non-Santal villages, where there were no headmen, a sarkari mandal, appointed by election, was vested with the Police powers of the village headman. A non-regulation system was thus introduced, the main feature of which was direct communication between the people and their rulers. The three chief principles were:—(1) to have no intermediary between the Santal and the Assistant Commissioner; (2) to have complaints made verbally without a written petition or the presence of *amla*; (3) to have all criminal work carried on with the help of the Santals themselves, who were to bring in the accused, with the witnesses, to the courts. So successfully was this system worked under the first Deputy Commissioner Mr. (afterwards Sir) Ashley Eden and the Commissioner Mr. George Yule, C.B., that during the Mutiny of 1857 not only did the Santals take no part in the distur-

bances, but it was found possible to enlist a number of them to serve as police.(1)

When the Mutiny broke out, Rohini was the headquarters of the 5th Irregular Cavalry, and there were three officers of that regiment stationed there, viz., the Commandant Major Macdonald, the Adjutant Sir Norman Leslie, and Dr. Grant. On the 8th June, just a month after the outbreak at Meerut, these three officers were attacked, as they were sitting at tea outside Major Macdonald's bungalow, three men suddenly rushing on them with drawn swords. Sir Norman Leslie turned to enter the house to get his sword, but, his foot slipping, he was cut down at once. The other two seized the chairs on which they had been sitting, and with them endeavoured to defend themselves. Both were wounded and would have been killed had it not been that their assailants suddenly lost heart and fled. The men of the regiment were called together and their swords inspected, but all were found perfectly clean. The men of the regiment had till then behaved well, and from the fact that the murderers had worn *dhotis*, it was thought that they were disbanded sepoys, many of whom, had been seen in the neighbourhood. It was soon ascertained, however, through the agency of the Urdu Major Imam Khan that they belonged to the regiment. They were seized, brought to a drum-head court martial, and sentenced to be hanged. Major Macdonald, in spite of the fact that his head had been cut open, and that a rising of the sepoys might at once follow, was equal to the occasion.

To quote his own account—"One of the prisoners was of a very high caste and influence, and this man I determined to treat with the greatest ignominy by getting a low caste man to hang him. To tell the truth, I never for a moment expected to leave the hanging scene alive, but I determined to do my duty, and well knew the effect that pluck and decision had on the natives. The regiment was drawn out: wounded cruelly as I was, I had to see everything done myself, even to the adjusting of the ropes, and saw them looped to run

(1) The village Police system under Yule's Rules was not disturbed till 1863, when a regular Police system was introduced in the Deoghar subdivision only, as that tract was found to be a non-Santal region in which the Santal Rules of 1856 could not be properly worked. Act V of 1861 which was extended to the district in 1863, however, ceased to operate in 1872 as it was not included in Regulation I of that year; but it was subsequently re-introduced by Government notification of 23rd February 1880.

easy. Two of the culprits were paralyzed with fear and astonishment, never dreaming that I should dare to hang them without an order from Government. The third said that he would not be hanged, and called on the Prophet and on his comrades to rescue him. This was an awful moment; an instant's hesitation on my part, and probably I should have had a dozen balls through me: so I seized a pistol, clapped it to the man's ear, and said with a look there was no mistake about—'Another word out of your mouth, and your brains shall be scattered on the ground.' He trembled and held his tongue. The elephant came up, he was put on his back, the rope adjusted, the elephant moved, and he was left dangling. I then had the others up and off in the same way. And after some time, when I dismissed the men of the regiment to their lines, and still found my head on my shoulders, I really could scarcely believe it."

Subsequent events proved that there was at that time an organized conspiracy in the regiment: that many knew of the plot to assassinate their three officers and only waited its fulfilment to rise *en masse*. The prompt action and bold front of Major Macdonald had, however, such an effect on the regiment, that it remained quiet till the middle of August, when the 5th Irregulars at Bhagalpur mutinied and marched on to Rohini. There they were joined by their comrades of the regiment, and after having extorted Rs. 12,000 from the people of the place, the whole body marched off to Bausi, the headquarters of the 32nd Native Infantry. The mutineers hoped that the latter would join them; but they had been forestalled, for a messenger, at the risk of his life, brought news of the mutiny to the Commandant Colonel Burney, arriving just half an hour before the troopers. The authorities at Deoghar were similarly warned by another messenger, who walked 80 miles in 30 hours. Dumka itself, at which there was a troop of the 5th Irregulars, was saved by the forethought of Babu Syamalal Nand Mukherji, who had the treasure and prisoners sent off to Suri. The *sowars* after these failures proceeded westward by rapid marches.

After this nothing worthy of record occurred till the 9th October, when a detachment of the 32nd Native Infantry at Deoghar suddenly broke out into mutiny, murdered their commanding officer, Lieutenant Cooper, and Mr. Roland, the Assistant Commissioner, and having plundered the bazar, marched off to Rohini, and thence to the west, following the

same route as that taken by the 5th Irregulars. "Some of the circumstances attending this outbreak," wrote the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Frederick Halliday, "are worth recording as illustrating the unaccountable conduct which has on many occasions been displayed by the sepoys during the outbreak. Lieutenants Cooper and Rannie and Mr. Roland, the Assistant Commissioner, were all surprised in the same bungalow, which the sepoys completely surrounded. Lieutenant Cooper was an officer who implicitly trusted his men, was constantly with them in familiar intercourse, and appeared to be an object of sincere attachment. Mr. Roland was an utter stranger to them: whilst Lieutenant Rannie, though of course well known to the men, took no particular pains to please them. Yet him they specially spared, calling out to him by name to come out of the bungalow and allowing him to leave the place unmolested, whilst they ruthlessly murdered their friend Lieutenant Cooper and the stranger Mr. Roland, of whom they could know nothing bad or good".

SUBSE-
QUENT
HISTORY.

The subsequent history of the district is almost entirely administrative and is associated with the names of successive Deputy Commissioners. Mr. Ashley Eden, who drew up the police rules known as Yule's Rules after the Commissioner, was succeeded in 1856 by Mr. (afterwards Sir Rivers) Thomson, and the latter by Sir William Robinson, who held office from 1858 to 1860, and in these few years succeeded in carrying through a number of reforms, including the abolition of the *kamiya* system already referred to. His administration has been described by Mr. Oldham in his preface to the first edition of the Santal Parganas Manual as follows:—"No local officers carried out such sweeping reforms, and so well they were established that it is hard to realize now the state of things which preceded them. His efforts were chiefly directed against the different forms of servitude by debtors, which was so prevalent and easy to enforce; but he attacked every system by which the powerful, the more instructed, or the cunning could get the better of the poor and ignorant." He was the author of a simple Code of Civil Rules which was subsequently superseded by a revised set of rules in 1863 and later by Mr. Barlow's rules of 1873*. He was succeeded in 1860 by one of the uncovenanted assistants, Mr. Browne Wood who held office till 1873. During these 13 years, the district

* These rules were subsequently revised in 1879, 1901, 1905 and lastly in 1924.

began to relapse to the Regulation system owing to a ruling of the Advocate-General in 1863, which tied the hands of the officers, and enabled the zamindars, while keeping within the letter of the law, to enhance rents freely, turn out village headmen at their pleasure, and replace them by strangers, who rack-rented the Santals and drove them from the lands they had cleared. Further, the Civil Procedure Code (Act VIII of 1859) compelled the courts to decree debts and the extortionate rates of interest demanded by the *mahajans*. Effect thus ceased to be given to an order issued by Mr. Commissioner Yule, limiting the rate of interest to 25 per cent, which had proved of great benefit to the people. The readmission of professional lawyers into the courts had also tended to place the Santals at a disadvantage in litigation with their landlords, as the latter were generally able to secure the best men to conduct their cases.

Great discontent ensued and came to a head in 1871, when there were unmistakable signs of unrest among the Santals of the Dumka and Godda subdivisions. Large parties gathered to make tumultuous appeals to British officers or collected in the jungles in great hunting parties, giving out that they intended going in a body to Dumka and other headquarters, and perhaps even to Bhagalpur, to obtain redress of their grievances. Their excitement naturally alarmed the Bengali inhabitants of the district, who still retained a vivid recollection of the atrocities committed on them during the rebellion of 1855. In the Dumka bazar prices fell 50 per cent in a few days, and a general stampede seemed imminent. The state of panic among the Bengali population may be gathered from an incident which occurred in *pargana* Sultanabad. A tiger having killed a bullock in the village of Hathimara, close to Maheshpur, the Santals turned out and beat their kettle-drums to scare away the animal. The sound of the kettle-drums, which was the usual summons to an armed gathering in 1855, was believed by the Bengalis to be the first signal for an outbreak, and 500 or 600 of them fled, with their families, cattle and goods, to the Murarai station of the East Indian Railway, declaring that the Santals had risen and were following them with the object of looting the country. The Railway District Engineer stationed at Ramput Hat thereupon proceeded with a body of volunteers to Murarai to meet an enemy who never came, and soon discovered the groundlessness of the panic. The Deputy

Commissioner also reassured the fugitives, and Maharaja Gopal Singh of Maheshpur took measures to allay the fears of the people, so that in two or three days the alarm subsided.

An enquiry was instituted, and it was shown that the Santals had real grievances. There had been extensive rack-renting, ejection of village headmen, seizure of rent-free lands of village priests and others, breaking up of the village community system so much cherished by the Santals, and other acts of oppression by zamindars. The then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Campbell, considered that it would be almost impossible to define by an exact law the rights to which the people had an equitable claim, and that the only satisfactory course would be to put the whole matter in the hands of an able and judicious officer, acting on general principles laid down for his guidance. It was decided therefore that a rough settlement of the Santal Parganas should be carried out by a Settlement Officer untrammelled by detailed laws, who would record the rights of all parties as determined by himself.

This object was secured by the enactment of Regulation III of 1872 "for the peace and good government of the Santal Parganas". This Regulation reaffirmed the exemption of the district from the operation of all Regulations and Acts not specially extended to it. It limited interest on debt to a rate not exceeding 24 per cent per annum and to an ultimate amount not exceeding the principal and it excluded compound interest. It enabled the Lieutenant-Governor to order a settlement of the whole or any part of the district and provided that during settlement operations the jurisdiction of the ordinary civil courts should be suspended. The Settlement Officers were to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor, who was to make rules for their control and guidance and might reserve an ultimate power of revision over all their proceedings. The decisions and orders of Settlement Courts were to have the force of civil court decrees and were to be final except as regards "the rights of zamindars and other proprietors as between themselves" in respect of which a suit was allowed after settlement to the Courts established under Act VI of 1871 (later, Act XII of 1887) ordinarily empowered to deal with suits exceeding Rs. 1,000 in value. Under the provisions of this Regulation, Mr. Browne Wood, who was appointed Settlement Officer, made a settlement of the whole district between the years 1873 and 1879, defining and recording the rights and duties of landlords and tenants, and, where

necessary, fixing fair rents. One of the results of this settlement was to preserve the Santal village community system, under which the village community, as a whole, holds the village lands and has collective rights over the village waste. These rights, which have not been able to survive elsewhere in Bengal, were recorded and saved from encroachment. The settlement also established on a firm footing the status of the headman, and restrained the zamindars from interfering with the management and internal economy of the villages.

From 1873 to 1879 when Mr. Wood was employed in carrying out the first settlement of the district, Mr. John Boxwell officiated as Deputy Commissioner. During his time, in 1874-75, there was a certain amount of unrest arising partly from the excitement attending the settlement operations and partly from the Kharwar movement. Disaffection manifested itself by a spirit of resistance to the payment of rent and by attempts to form a kind of political organization. Two ringleaders, named Bhagirath Manjhi and Gyan Parganait, were imprisoned, and as a further precautionary measure, additional police were sent to the district and a wing of the 4th Native Infantry from Bhagalpur was stationed at Dumka. Mr. Boxwell was somewhat more than the able and judicious officer contemplated by Sir George Campbell's remarks. He held office for nearly six continuous years and only vacated it for furlough and promotion; and five years later in April 1884, his successor, when surrendering his charge, had to admit that in the administration of civil justice, he had been solely guided and lighted by Mr. Boxwell's example and expositions and that no case had arisen or apparently could arise under the Santal system, the principles for dealing with which had not been elucidated by Mr. Boxwell. Probably no other officer so well adapted for carrying out Sir George Campbell's views, could have been selected. Not only did he thoroughly grasp and appreciate them but he brought to their fulfilment both qualities and attainments of a high order. To the people he was a veritable Avatar, and he set himself to study and master the Santal tongue. The next Deputy Commissioner was Mr. W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., who held office for five years from 1879 to 1884. It was during his time that in 1880-81 there was a revival of the Kharwar movement, which gave much trouble during the preparations for the census, interested agitators seizing the opportunity for a tribal administration. The Subdivisional Officer of Dumka was

besieged in his tent by a howling mob for a whole night, the subdivisional bungalow at Jamtara was burnt down, and Mr. Cosserat, the officer in charge of the census of the Damin-i-koh, was surprised and taken prisoner at Katikund. Objection was taken to the numbering of houses and of the people, and to the record of their names, while the fact that the final enumeration was to be carried out at night lent colour to representations that Government meditated some widespread policy of violence. It was, therefore, thought necessary to dispense with the final nocturnal enumeration; and in order to overawe the Santals, a body of military police was posted in the district and a field force of 4,500 cavalry and infantry was sent up under Colonel (afterward General Sir Thomas) Gordon. Troops were marched through the district, and these measures proved effectual in preventing any further disturbance.

**SANTAL
OFFICERS.**

After the completion of the census operations of 1881 Mr. Oldham, with a view to improve the administration of the district and to break up the clannish feeling among the Santals to which the disturbances of 1880-81 were attributed, submitted proposals for the extension of the Police system on the model of that existing in the Deoghar subdivision to the zamindari portions of the subdivisions of Godda, Pakaur and Rajmahal. His proposals were fully approved by Mr. G. N. Barlow, Commissioner, and Mr. Munro, Inspector-General of Police. The proposals were approved by Government in letter no. 2701-J., dated the 31st July 1882, and a police-station at Rajmahal with independent outposts at Sahibganj and Barharwa, a police-station at Pakaur with an independent outpost at Maheshpur and a police-station at Godda with independent outposts at Mahagama and Pareyahat were established. It was during the time of Mr. Oldham that the obligations and duties of the Ghatwals of Tappa Sarat Deoghar governed by Regulation XXIX of 1814 were investigated and distinct orders of Government were given regarding their liability and its enforcement. Mr. Oldham was succeeded after a brief interval by Mr. Carstairs who held office from June 1886 to March 1900 with short intervals of leave. It was during his time that Regulation II of 1886, the Santal Parganas Justice Regulation V of 1893 which was subsequently amended by Regulation III of 1899 and the Santal Parganas Rural Police Regulation III of 1900 were passed into law and it was declared by Government in Mr. Nolan's letter no. 86-T.R., dated the 6th October 1887, that occupancy rights

were not saleable except where expressly so recorded at the settlement. With the passing of Regulation II of 1886 applications for settlement revision began to come in from numerous proprietors. A programme covering 724 square miles comprised in 1,432 villages of the Deoghar, Jamtara, Dumka and Godda subdivisions was eventually drawn up and Mr. John Craven, Deputy Collector, was appointed Settlement Officer under the control of Mr. Carstairs in October 1888. Mr. Craven completed the first revision operations by May 1892. His second revision programme included estates situated in subdivisions Dumka, Godda, Jamtara, Pakaur and Deoghar and the operations were closed in the autumn of 1894. Then the settlement of 87 villages in the Pakaur portion of the Damin-i-koh was carried on by Mr. E. McL. Smith from December 1895 to March 1897. In submitting this report Mr. Carstairs wrote as below :—

“ 2. That which gives the work reported on its chief interest and importance is the fact that the Paharias had hitherto been permitted by Government to occupy such parts of their hills as they occupied free of rent, and now of their own accord applied for settlement. There are others in the same position in the subdivisions of Godda and Rajmahal, who we hope, will be seeing how the settlement works come forward and apply for settlement also.”

The settlement of the whole district excluding the Diara tract and the Sauria Pararia hills of Godda and Rajmahal by Mr. (now Sir) H. McPherson and Mr. H. Ll. L. Allanson from 31st October 1898 to September 1910 began during the time of Mr. Carstairs to whom the settlement is greatly indebted for his assistance in framing the rules of settlement in which his long experience of the district was of the greatest value. “ All these officers ” writes Mr. (now Sir) McPherson “ were loyal interpreters of the principles of administration which found expression in Act XXXVII of 1855 and Regulation III of 1872. If Mr. Wood and Mr. Boxwell were the makers of the settlement and the Santal system Mr. Oldham and Mr. Carstairs may well be styled the ‘ guardians ’ of the same. Mr. Oldham had Mr. Barlow for his Commissioner throughout his incumbency, but in Mr. Carstairs’ time there were frequent changes in the Commissionership and all holders of the office were not permeated with an equal amount of sympathy for the non-regulation system. Mr. Carstairs had to do many a battle for the principles on which the administration of his district was founded ”.

With the settlement operations of Mr. (now Sir) H. McPherson and Mr. H. Ll. L. Allanson for the period from 1898 to 1910, the Deputy Commissioner most closely associated was Mr. C. H. Bompas who held office from 31st October 1900 to 1st February 1906. During his tenure of office many important questions connected with the administration of the district and of the Damin-i-koh were passed in review, the discussions raised by the settlement operations resulting in three important amendments of the Santal Parganas Settlement and Rent Regulations, viz., Regulation II of 1904, III of 1907 and III of 1908. He also introduced the system of grain banks into the Damin and subsequently into the Wards estates. Mr. Bompas was succeeded by Mr. H. W. P. Scroope who remained in charge till 1st April 1910. He continued towards the settlement operations the same interest and co-operation as was shown by his predecessors. It was during his time that special measures were taken in regard to the *sabai* crop of the Rajmahal Paharias. The next Deputy Commissioner was Mr. Allanson who after completion of the settlement operations succeeded Mr. Scroope and held office till the 14th October 1912. It was on the recommendation of Mr. Allanson which was strongly recommended by Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., who was Commissioner in 1912 that the settlement of the unsettled Paharia hills of Godda and Rajmahal was sanctioned by Government in December 1912. The settlement was carried on by Mr. S. S. Day, Deputy Collector, on the lines indicated by Mr. Allanson during the period from December 1912 to March 1916 resulting in a rent demand of Rs. 6,624 a year due to Government. Most associated with the settlement of the Paharia hills was Mr. F. G. Rowland and also Mr. H. R. T. S. Perrott who was Deputy Commissioner from 11th December 1913 to 31st March 1917. Mr. Perrott was succeeded by Mr. E. Lister, Mr. E. R. J. R. Cousins and Mr. Tanner each of whom was in charge of the district for short periods. Mr. Tanner was succeeded by Mr. A. C. Davies who held charge of the district from 7th December 1920 to 31st August 1922 and was made the Settlement Officer of the Revision Settlement Operation of the whole district with the exception of the Sauria Paharia hills of Godda and Rajmahal. The operation covered a period of nearly 13 years from 1st September 1922 to 18th February 1935. Mr. Davies was Settlement Officer for only 2½ years and the other officers who were placed in charge of this revision settlement were Mr. J. W. Houlton, Mr. B. G. Blunt,

Mr. P. J. Scotland and Mr. J. F. Gantzer. It may be noted here that the Deputy Commissioners were not associated with this revision settlement. The Commissioner was in general charge of the operations and the Director of Land Records and Surveys was an advising officer intervening between the Settlement Officer and the Commissioner.

Mr. R. E. Russell succeeded Mr. Davies and was in charge of district from 19th October 1922 to 24th February 1926. Mr. Russell made a thorough enquiry into the position of village headmen and the possible ways of improving it. All his recommendations were approved in Government, Revenue Department, letter no. 384—IIIP-3/24-R.T., dated the 11th July 1924, and Regulation VII of 1925 was promulgated, Rule 8A was added to the Santal Civil Rules and the form of annual quittance receipts to be granted by the zamindars to the Prodhans was prescribed. The Santal Civil Rules were revised during the time of Mr. Russell. Mr. Russell was succeeded after a brief interval by Mr. E. S. Hoernle who held charge of the district from 1st April 1927 to 16th October 1932 with short intervals on leave. Santal Civil Rules 39 and 41 were revised during his time. Mr. Hoernle was succeeded by Rai Bahadur S. C. Mukharji who held charge of the district from 17th October 1932 to 3rd November 1936. It was during his time that the Santal Parganas Justice Regulation V of 1893 was amended by Regulation IV of 1933 which provided empowering Magistrates of the first class subordinate to Deputy Commissioner to exercise powers under section 30, Criminal Procedure Code, and also to hear appeals that lie to the Deputy Commissioner. Regulation III of 1872 was also amended by Regulation I of 1934 prohibiting decrees being passed by any court for the sale of the right of a raiyat in his holding or any portion thereof and also empowering the Local Government to make rules regulating the cutting, removal and sale of *sabai* grass, timber and other forest produce in and from the Sauria Paharia hills. Rai Bahadur Mukharji was succeeded by Mr. V. E. Davies, I.C.S., on the 3rd November 1936.

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE.

GROWTH
OF POPULA-
TION.

1872	...	1,259,185	are given in the margin. The census of 1872 which was the first census of the district and of 1881 were attended by considerable difficulties. In 1872 a number of wild rumours were afloat in the Damin portion of the Godda subdivision, <i>e.g.</i> , that people were to be taken from each village and deported to clear jungle in Assam and the Duars, that they were being counted in order
1881	...	1,567,966	
1891	...	1,753,775	
1901	...	1,809,737	
1911	...	1,882,973	
1921	...	1,798,639	
1931	...	2,051,472	

to convert them to Christianity by force, etc. The ryots of Boarijor drove the *parganait*, and the manjhis who were assisting him, out of their villages, and refused to allow the census to proceed. When the Extra Assistant Commissioner arrived on the spot, he found about 1,500 people assembled, in real terror of the evils which would come upon them if they were counted, the men declaring that they were helpless as the bare mention of a census was enough to make their women and children frantic. It seems, however, that they never had any intention of offering a serious resistance to the census, for when it was explained that the *parganait* had only been acting under the orders of Government, the crowd readily dispersed, with the remark that the *sarkar* might do what it pleased, but they would rather not be counted. Elsewhere the census passed off quietly, but primitive methods had to be employed for enumerating the people in parts of the Damin-i-koh owing to the ignorance of the people and the fear of alarming an easily excitable population. The Santals have no written language of their own, and there were comparatively very few of them who can write Hindi or Bengali. Recourse was had therefore to their own national method of counting, *viz.*, by tying knots on a number of strings, which were coloured differently, so as to distinguish males from females and children from adults.

In the Damin portion of the Rajmahal subdivision such coloured strings were distributed through the *parganaits* or heads of communes to the *manjhis* or village headmen of the Santals, and through the Paharia *sardars* to their *naibs* and *manjhis*. These strings were of four colours—black for male adults, red for female adults, white for boys, and yellow for girls. The people were counted by the *manjhis*, and their numbers recorded by tying a knot for each person on the string representing the proper sex and age. Within the portion of the Damin-i-koh attached to the Godda subdivision, the Santals and Paharias were similarly enumerated by means of knotting different coloured strings representing the males, females, and children separately. In some villages three people were told off to keep the reckoning, which was done by so many seeds or small pieces of gravel, one person keeping a reckoning of the men, another of the women and a third of the children. This enumeration is known to have been incomplete, and in 1881 there were outbreaks which vitiated the results, the final nocturnal enumeration being omitted. The first reliable census was that of 1891, but even in that year the enumeration was the occasion of wild rumours in the Rajmahal subdivision, *e.g.*, it was stated that Government was numbering the people to enable it to send them as coolies to Assam, that enhanced rents were to be levied, and that all Santals except the Kharwars were to be made Christians. An army of 4,500 men had to be drafted into the district to prevent a general rising.

The census of 1901 showed a net increase of 55,962 persons CENSUS OF or 3.2 per cent.—a surprisingly small rate of growth for a 1901. healthy district with a prolific population. This result was attributed to the large scale on which emigration had taken place : it was, in fact, estimated that about 182,000 persons left the district during the previous 10 years, and that but for this the increase of the population would have been at least 10 per cent.

The conditions prevailing in, and the results of the census of, 1911, 1921 and 1931 are thus summed up in the Bihar and Orissa Census Reports of 1921 and 1931.

“ Between 1901 and 1911, there were three consecutive CENSUS OF years of bad crops in 1905, 1906 and 1907 as the result of 1911. which the Dumka and the Godda subdivisions were on the verge of famine in 1908 and were only saved by a good crops of lac. The recorded net excess of births over deaths for

these ten years was 191,000 and the rate of growth of the population was again prevented by emigration. The census of 1911 showed a net increase of 73,236 persons or 4.05 per cent. The increase occurred throughout the district except in Dumka and Godda, where the distress of 1908 had been most acute and from which there had been most emigration. The greatest increase was in the Rajmahal subdivision where plague had emptied the town of Sahibganj and where in 1911 a large labour force was collected at the quarries from which stone was being supplied to the Sara bridge."

CENSUS OF
1921.

"From 1911 to 1917 events followed a fairly normal course, good seasons alternating with indifferent ones and the general state of public health being fairly satisfactory except for one or two severe outbreaks of cholera. But in 1917, the sudden rise in the cost of living was beginning to make itself felt, and the people had little in reserve to fall back upon when the crops failed altogether in 1918. Famine had to be declared in 1919. While in Dumka and Godda also the distress was acute. Nor was any effective resistance offered to fierce onslaught of the influenza epidemic which raised without intermission in this district until well on in 1919. During these two years, out of 149,000 deaths reported, 130,000 were attributed to fever. At the census of 1921 it was found that the population of the district had decreased by 4.46 per cent since the previous census. It is significant, however, that in spite of the misfortunes which characterized this period the flow of emigration from the district was checked, the number of emigrants recorded in 1921 being less by 23,000 than it had been 10 years earlier."

CENSUS OF
1931.

"Public health in 1921 had not yet attained the exceptionally high level which it reached in the subsequent years, but it showed a distinct improvement over what had gone before. The outturn of both the principal crops—rice and maize—was well up to normal: So the new decade may be said to have opened well. For the next nine years there was no serious check in the progress registered by the district. Bumper rice crops were obtained in 1922, 1924 and 1928. The only year in which the outturn of the crop was seriously deficient throughout the district was 1927, when it amounted to only half the normal yield. But an unusually good maize crop compensated to some extent for this disappointment. In the Godda and Rajmahal subdivisions, the harvests of 1923 were poor. Fairly severe outbreaks of cholera were experienced for three successive years commencing in 1927 and small-pox

was in evidence from 1926 to 1928. For the rest, the district enjoyed remarkably good health, the survival rate was well over 10 per mille in eight out of 10 years." For the district as a whole the rate of increase recorded at the 1931 census was 14.29 per cent.

The following tables show the main figures of the last two decades :—

	Population.	Percentage of variation.		Mean density 1931.
		1921 to 1931.	1911 to 1921.	
1	2	3	4	5
District total ...	2,051,472	+14.29	—4.46	376
Deoghar subdivision ...	346,946	+19.32	—5.13	364
Dumka subdivision ...	466,157	+17.97	—4.89	319
Dumka outside Damin ...	421,735	+18.31	—5.49	345
Dumka Damin ...	44,422	+14.92	+0.95	184
Godda subdivision ...	387,801	+14.03	—6.76	456
Godda outside Damin	298,217	+15.54	—6.94	537
Godda Damin ...	89,584	+9.28	—6.21	304
Jamtara subdivision ...	243,856	+17.31	+0.91	352
Rajmahal subdivision ...	331,136	+8.46	—6.93	413
Rajmahal outside Damin	131,862	+7.97	—7.01	625
Rajmahal Damin ...	199,274	+8.80	—6.88	338
Pakaur subdivision ...	275,574	+7.75	—0.73	394
Pakaur outside Damin ...	197,177	+5.51	—2.4	455
Pakaur Damin ...	79,397	+13.80	+4.2	294

It is on the south and the west that growth was most rapid. Deoghar subdivision showed the biggest increase of all-nearly 20 per cent. One circumstance which probably contributed to this result was the progress of settlement operations in this subdivision at the time of census which led most people to stay at home in order to press their claims before the settlement authorities.

Density of
Population.

The Santal Parganas alone amongst the districts of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, can boast of having more than two million inhabitants. In size this district is smaller than Ranchi or Hazaribagh, but it is a good deal more thickly populated than either having a mean density of 376 persons to the square mile. The Damin-i-koh a vast Government estate occupies about a quarter of the total area of the district. In this tract the aborigines enjoy special protection. The Damin is more sparsely populated than the rest of the district consisting as it does largely of hills and jungles where the area available for cultivation is limited. The density is highest in that portion of the Rajmahal subdivision which falls outside the Damin. This is in the extreme north-east corner of the district bordering on Bengal.

Migration.

There is no doubt that by the beginning of the nineteenth century the Santals had established themselves on the plateau of Chota Nagpur. Hazaribagh, Palamau and Singhbhum appear to have been their special strongholds at that time, but they were already beginning to make their way towards the district which is now known as the Santal Parganas. It was on the middle part of the century that their migration to this particular locality took place on a grand scale, and it has been suggested that many of the persons shown as immigrants into the district at the census of 1901 were the survivors of those who had taken part in that movement. But by that time they were already on the move again. "The Santals", wrote Mr. (now Sir Edward) Gait in 1901, "are spreading north and east, and the full effect of the movement is not exhausted in the districts that adjoin the Santal Parganas, but makes itself felt even further away, in those parts of Dinajpur, Rajshahi and Bogra which share with Malda the elevated tract of quasi-laterite known as the Barind. These wanderings of the Santals have hitherto been confined to a laterite soil, and they are said to be averse to the payment of rent. In what direction they will spread when they have finished their work of reclamation in the Barind it is impossible yet to conjecture. The future alone can show whether they will then accept the inevitable and settle down as permanent rent-paying cultivators, or move further afield, overcoming their dislike to alluvial soil, or retrace their steps and rove once more in the infertile uplands of the Chota Nagpur plateau."

The table below shows the strength and distribution of the Santal tribe in Bihar and Orissa and in Bengal at the

time when the above words were written, and the variations that have occurred at each subsequent census :—

Locality.	Actual number of Santals.				Percentage of total population.			
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.
Bihar and Orissa	1,712,133	1,477,471	1,407,346	1,298,347	4.0	3.9	3.7	3.6
Santal Parganas.	754,804	670,459	688,149	670,535	36.8	37.7	35.6	37.1
Purnea ..	46,995	34,995	21,022	6,843	2.1	1.7	1.1	0.4
Bhagalpur ..	30,799	33,503	25,249	26,632	1.4	1.6	1.2	1.3
Monghyr ..	26,742	23,080	20,479	19,758	1.2	1.1	1.0	1.0
Hazaribagh..	129,103	98,738	93,269	78,379	8.5	7.7	7.2	6.7
Manbhum ..	282,315	238,747	232,296	195,400	15.6	15.4	15.0	15.0
Singhbhum..	108,890	94,381	88,241	77,363	11.7	12.4	12.7	12.6
Feudatory Estates.	309,504	261,791	247,264	211,937	6.7	6.6	6.3	6.4
Elsewhere ..	22,981	15,777	11,377	11,500	.09	.07	.05	.05
Bengal ..	796,656	712,040	670,689	570,272	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.3
Dinajpur ..	130,323	120,211	110,244	74,101	7.4	7.0	6.5	4.7
Malda ..	72,145	72,140	66,520	52,126	6.8	7.3	6.6	5.9
Bogra ..	5,351	7,182	5,826	4,533	.5	.7	.6	.5
Rajshahi ..	25,591	21,300	14,145	4,858	1.8	1.4	1.0	.3
Jalpaiguri ..	27,859	28,988	22,641	10,895	2.8	2.6	2.5	1.4
Birbhum ..	64,079	57,180	56,087	47,738	6.8	6.7	6.0	5.3
Burdwan ..	101,522	79,099	60,978	46,533	6.0	5.6	4.3	3.0
Bankura ..	114,577	104,912	115,017	105,722	10.3	10.3	10.1	9.5
Midnapur ..	169,750	152,751	161,532	148,391	6.1	5.7	5.7	5.3
Hooghly ..	38,013	34,963	22,992	9,966	3.4	3.2	2.1	.9
Murshidabad	22,725	18,401	14,393	12,566	1.7	1.5	1.0	.9
Elsewhere ..	24,716	19,913	15,314	23,308	.07	.06	.05	.08

During these thirty years the total strength of the tribe in the two provinces combined has increased from 1,869,074 to 2,508,789. This represents an increase of over 53 per cent in a single generation—a rate of growth just double that achieved by the population of this province as a whole, and a striking indication of the hardy, prolific character of the tribe.

The first decade of the century witnessed an acceleration of the outward stream of migration from the Santal Parganas. At the census of 1911 the number of persons born in that

district and enumerated elsewhere was no less than 321,383, an increase of 95,000 over the figure recorded ten years earlier. Not all of this vast army of emigrants were Santals, but it is safe to say that a great majority of them were. For, although condition during the decade had been generally favourable for a rapid increase of population (particularly on the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where the average rate of growth was 14 per cent), there was an actual decline in the number of Santals enumerated in their home district. The flow into the Barind was still strong, the districts of Dinajpur and Rajshahi being the recipients of most of the fresh emigrants to this part of Bengal. Further to the north-east the tea-garden districts of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling absorbed a substantial overflow, while some 59,000 Santals were found still further afield in the province of Assam. But this decade saw also the beginning of a new movement into the purely alluvial tracts of Purnea and Hooghly districts. Moreover, the Santals were then showing signs of retracting their steps in a westerly direction. The increase in their numbers during this period (1910-11) in Manbhum, Hazaribagh and the Orissa States is too great to be ascribed entirely to natural growth. In the two first-named districts the coal fields were the main attraction, and the partiality of the Santal for labour of this kind was responsible also for a marked rise in Burdwan district.

During the next decade the eastward current of migration was very much less pronounced. The total number of emigrants from the Santal Parganas in 1921 was less by about 23,000 than it had been at the previous census, and, despite the ill health and economic distress of 1918-20 which prevented the population of the province as a whole from registering any progress, the number of Santals residing in the Santal Parganas was greater at the end of the decade than it had been at the beginning. This circumstance is the more remarkable because agricultural scarcity had compelled many who would not otherwise have left their homes to emigrate to the tea-gardens of Assam, and over 84,000 Santals were enumerated in that province in 1921, as compared with 59,000 in 1911. Very few fresh emigrants found their way into the Barind, but the thrust into Purnea and Hooghly continued, and there was a temporary movement across the north-western border of the district into Bhagalpur.

The census of 1931 does not record the number of persons born in the Santal Parganas and enumerated outside the province. Emigrants from that district to other parts of Bihar and Orissa are almost, but not quite, as numerous as they were ten years ago, but there must have been a heavy decrease in emigration to Bengal and Assam. It is significant that in the province of Bihar and Orissa the strength of the tribe increased since 1921 by 16 per cent, while in Bengal the rate was barely 12 per cent. In practically, none of the Bengal districts, except the colliery areas of Burdwan, was the increase in numbers out of proportion to the natural growth of the tribe; and, although of course it is not suggested that all the Santals who were enumerated in Bengal in 1921 have remained there ever since and have multiplied in the ordinary course of nature, the figures do indicate that there are nowadays very few fresh emigrants who are making a permanent home in that province. In Assam statistics of Santals were not compiled in the 1931 census but there has been a decline of just 1,000 in the number of persons speaking Santali as their mother-tongue, and it is therefore probable that the number of Santals has fallen also. Within the province of Bihar and Orissa there has been a further development in the streams of migration to Purnea, Hazaribagh, Manbhum and the States. The present indications, therefore, are that the movement of this tribe to the north-east has been definitely checked for the time being, and that a great number of them are settling down in their own district as permanent rent-paying cultivators. Such migration as is now taking place is not governed by any fixed principle but is the result of ordinary economic pressure, and its direction is determined by the availability of land (whether laterite or alluvial) and the scope for labour of a kind which appeals to the Santals, such as work on tea-gardens or in coal mines.*

Among non-Santal immigrants may be mentioned Marwaris, Bhojpuris and traders from other parts of Bihar, who have come and settled in the district with their wives and children. The Marwaris congregate in the towns and do a wholesale business, the profession of the others is money-lending and shop-keeping. In fact they own almost all the

*W. G. Lacey, Bihar and Orissa Census Report, 1931, Appendix VI.

shops in the districts, the Bengalis having only a few and the Santals and Paharias practically none.

Towns and villages.	Five places were treated as towns at the census of 1931, viz.,	
	Sahebganj with a population of 15,883,	
Year.	Population.	Deoghar 14,217, Dumka 9,471,
1881	... 6,512	Madhupur 8,965 and Rajmahal
1891	... 11,297	3,685. The first four are municipi-
1901	... 7,558	palities. The largest of the towns is
1911	... 14,783	Sahebganj and statement in the margin
1921	... 11,880	will show the violent ups and downs
1931	... 15,882	that have marked the history of
		this town during the last 50 years.

Its original development between 1881 and 1891 was due to the construction of the railway and ever since it has been growing in importance as a railway settlement and a centre of trade. But in 1901 and again in 1921 there was an outbreak of plague in the town at the census time, which caused numerous deaths and indirectly reduced the population still more by driving many of the inhabitants out of the town. The numbers recorded at the 1931 census are no higher than might reasonably be expected in view of the 1911 figure. Rajmahal town is nominally the headquarters of the subdivision in which Sahebganj is located, but it is no longer of any importance. With a population of only 3,685, it is the smallest town in British territory. Deoghar which has a population of 14,217, is the second large town in the district. Deoghar and Madhupur are favourite places of residence for Bengali gentlemen. Since 1921, both these places have added about 1,900 to their population, but in the case of Madhupur, which is much the similar town of the two (8,965), the rate of growth represented by this addition is more considerable. The headquarters station of the district is Dumka, but it is quite a small place with only 9,471 inhabitants.

The rural population consisting of 1,999,251 persons live in 10,160 villages in the district, 73 per cent being found in villages with less than 500 inhabitants and 7 per cent in villages with a population of 500 to 2,000. Of the total number of villages, 2,007 are uninhabited. The subdivisional headquarters of Godda, Pakaur and Jamtara have got a population of 1,935, 4,862 and 3,209, respectively.

53 per cent of the population are actual workers and 47 per cent are non-working dependants. The occupations followed by the actual workers are as below :—

	Per cent.
I. Exploitation of animals and vegetation including pasture and agriculture.	47.8
II. Exploitation of minerals ... ..	.02
III. Industry	1.40
IV. Transport ... ..	.2
V. Trade	1.0
VI. Public force ... ..	.04
VII. Public Administration ... ..	.005
VIII. Profession and liberal arts ... ..	.2
IX. Persons living on their income ... ..	.003
X. Domestic service ... ..	.1
XI. Insufficiently described profession	1.8
XII. Unproductive occupation ... ..	.1

Of the agricultural population 8,51,900 are tenant cultivators and 98,300 are agricultural labourers. The industrial population include 4,400 weavers, 3,100 basket-makers and 4,300 potters.

The district is a polyglot one, for aborigines live more or less side by side with speakers of Aryan languages, and in some parts as many as four languages are spoken by different communities. The Santali, Hindustani, Bengali and Malto are the main languages of the district.

Santali is spoken by 761,700 persons. It is a Santali language belonging to the Munda family, and is remarkably uniform, having been only slightly influenced by the Aryan languages. This influence is mainly confined to the vocabulary, and broadly speaking the structure and general character of the language have remained unchanged. Santali does not possess a written literature, though traditional legends are current among the people. It has been reduced to writing by European missionaries, and the Roman character is commonly used in writing it. There are two Santali translations of the New Testament, and the Old Testament has lately been translated by the Revd. P. Bodding. A grammar by the Revd. L. O. Skrefsrud, published in 1873, was the leading authority on the language,*

*G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 30-36.

up till 1929 when a new grammar was introduced by Rev. P. O. Bodding.

The general character of the language may be gathered from a sketch given by Mr. J. M. Macphail in *Santalia* :—
“ Their language is the most remarkable possession that this people, exceptionally poor in this world's goods, can boast of. It is a triumph of complexity, with moods and tenses all its own, a language which is only to be learned by living among the people who speak it, but which, once learned, is peculiarly expressive and convenient. It is of the agglutinative or compounding class of languages, consisting of roots rather than words, the root serving as substantive or verb, adjective or adverb, according to the necessities of the case. It is very rich in terms for all natural objects and for all things which touch the common life of the people. There are, for instance, more than half-a-dozen verbs in Santali for our verb “ to fall.” There is one which means to fall from a standing position, another to fall from a height, another to fall forwards, another to fall backwards, etc. Then there are an equal number of names for rice, according to the various forms in which it is found—seedlings, in the ear, husked rice, boiled rice, etc. But to express spiritual and ethical ideas and to denote the imports of recent civilization—schools, books, paper, ink, pens, pencils, pins, church, roads (except footpaths), bridges, slate, post, magistrate, taxes, police, etc., words have to be borrowed mainly from Hindi or Hindustani.”

There are only two dialects, and even these do not differ much from the standard form of speech. The first is Karmali, spoken by a caste of iron smelters in the south of the district, who call themselves Har or men, but are called Kalhas by the Santals and Kols by Hindus. The second is Mahle or Mahili, spoken by the Mahili caste in the centre and south of the district, which is closely related to Karmali. Among themselves the Mahilis use, to some extent, a kind of slang or secret language, substituting peculiar words and expressions for common ones, *e.g.*, *pitis* instead of *paisa* and *leka* instead of *ana*. According to the census of 1931, 8,114 persons in this district speak Karmali, and 8,643 persons speak Mahili.

Bihari is returned as the language of 46 per cent of the Bihari population, the dialect in common use being Maithili. The Maithili spoken in this district is influenced more or less by the Magahi spoken in the west and partly also by Bengali. The result is a well marked dialect called the Chhika-Chhiki Boli, owing to the frequency with which the word *chhikai* meaning "he is" and its congeners are used. The Rajmahal Hills separate the speakers of this dialect from those who speak Bengali, but in the Deoghar subdivision there is a small tract, south and east of the town of Deoghar, where the two vernaculars overlap without combining, Maithili being spoken by people from Bihar and Bengali by those of Bengal.

Bengali is the language of 12.3 per cent. of the population and is common in the south-east of the district bordering on Bengal. In Jamtara, the language is spoken by 30 per cent. of the population and in Pakaur by 25 per cent. There are two varieties in use, *viz.*, Rarhi Boli or the classical Western Bengali, and a broken dialect, called Malpaharia, which is spoken by the Mal Paharias.

Malto is almost exclusively spoken by the Maler or Male Malto. Paharias of the Rajmahal Hills, from which fact the language is also known as Rajmahali. It is a Dravidian language, appearing to have a close resemblance to the Kurukh language spoken by Oraons. It is, however, influenced by Aryan tongues, especially in its vocabulary, and there are also traces of the influence of Santali. It does not possess a literature of its own, but the Psalms, the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles have been translated into it, the Roman alphabet being made use of for the purpose. The chief source of information about this language is a grammar published by Revd. E. Droese in 1884. According to the census of 1931, the number of persons speaking the language in the Santal Parganas was 67,052, whereas the Maler tribe better known as Sauria Paharia in this district was returned as having a strength of 59,891. The excess is probably due to the fact that in parts of the district where Sauria Paharias are numerous, their language is spoken by some of the neighbours.*

* G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 446-7, and Mr. W. G. Lacey, B. & O. Census Report, 1931, page 245.

RELIGIONS.

Hindus number 949,198 or 46.27 of the population, persons following the tribal religion of the primitive tribes number 865,128 or 42.17 per cent., Muhammadans 223,702 or 10.9 per cent., while the number of Christians is 13,346 and of Sikh and Jain 98. The table below shows the percentage of population following the tribal, Hindu and Muhammadan religions in the several subdivisions of this district.

Subdivision.	Tribal religion.	Hindus.		Muslims.
		Depressed classes.	Other Hindus.	
Deoghar ...	16	18	54	12
Dumka ..	53	13	30	4
Godda ..	35	11	41	12
Jamtara ..	41	14	36	9
Rajmahal	50	9	27	14
Pakaur ...	62	5	16	17

The majority of the Muhammadans are believed to be descendants of low class converts made during the period of Mughal rule, and many of them can with difficulty be distinguished from the Hinduized aboriginals with whom they live side by side.

Christian Missions.

The number of Christians in the district enumerated at the 1931 census was 13,346 including 329 Europeans and 204 Anglo-Indians and was distributed among the different subdivisions as below :—

Deoghar	...	...	922
Godda	...	...	1,046
Jamtara	...	...	1,497
Pakaur	...	...	2,248
Rajmahal	...	...	3,440
Dumka	...	...	4,193
Total			13,346

Excluding the Europeans and the Anglo-Indians, the number of Indian Christians was 12,813 of whom 9,963 are Santals

and 449 are Sauria Paharias, converts of the several missions which are at work in the district.

The Church Missionary Society is at work in the Godda, Pakaur and Rajmahal subdivisions, and has also established a colony for its converts in the Western Duars. Work was begun in 1862, the first missionaries being the Revd. E. L. Puxley and the Revd. W. T. Storrs. There are now five stations, the centres of evangelistic, educational and medical work, at Taljhari and Barharwa in the Rajmahal subdivision, and at Pathra and Bhagaya in the Godda subdivision, and at Hiranpur in the Pakaur subdivision.

The Scandinavian Lutheran Mission has been established in the Dumka subdivision for over 70 years, work being started in 1867 by the Revd. H. P. Boeresen, a Dane, and by the Revd. L. O. Skrefsrud a Norwegian, whose Santali grammar is the chief authority on the language. The Mission is known as the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches or the Indian Home Mission to the Santals because it was the intention of the founders to raise in India all the funds required for its support. In accordance with a compact with the Church Missionary Society its works in this district is confined to the tract south of the Bansloi river. In 1905, it took over an independent Mission started in the Jamtara subdivision by the late Mr. Heagert who had his headquarters at Kairabani and established two branches of his Mission in the Dumka subdivision one at Maharu about 5 miles west of Dumka and the other at Dharampur near Kumrabad 8 miles south of Dumka. It has mission stations at Narainpur (Birbhum), Dinajpur, Malda, Rajshahi and Cooch Behar and a colony in Assam where it owns a tea garden (Mornai Tea estate). The important mission stations in this district are at Benagaria, Kaerabani, Maharu, Saldaha, Kareya, Dumka, Mohulpahari, Dharampur (near Kumrabad), Chandrapura (near Katikund), Karikadar, Tilabani (near Asanbani) and Basetkundi (near Mahespur in the Pakaur subdivision).

Other missions are the Christian Women's Board of Missions, a Wesleyan Mission, which established itself in the Deoghar subdivision, and the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, which started work in the Pakaur subdivision under the Revd. J. P. Meik in 1884. The converts of the latter are

mostly Hindus and Muhammadans, very few being Santals. It maintains a boarding school with an industrial branch, at which boys and girls are taught poultry-keeping, gardening, fruit-farming and carpentry. The Plymouth Brethren have stations in the Jamtara subdivision at Tetulbandha and Kasitanr in Circle Karmatanr, Sagjuria in Circle Sierkatia, Budhudih in Circle Gaichhand and at Bhagaya in Circle Mihijam. The name of the Wesleyan Mission at Deoghar is now changed and the Mission is called the Church Missionary Society under the Church of England and it has established a girls' high English school at Deoghar. The Roman Catholic Mission has recently begun working in this district and has erected Mission houses with schools attached to them at Guhijuri on the Dumka-Katikund road and Dudhani adjoining Dumka town. The Guhijuri land measures 4B—11K—16D and was acquired by the Zamindar Mr. T. D. Lal in August 1932 for settlement with the Mission and the Dudhani lands and houses standing thereon were purchased by the Mission from Mr. Halford and Babu H. L. Banerji.

TRIBES AND
CASTES.

Ethnologically the Santal Parganas are one of the most interesting districts of Bihar owing to the variety of races found in it. Generally speaking, the hilly country is inhabited mainly by Santals, Paharias and other aboriginal tribes; the undulating region by semi-aboriginal races, with a smaller portion of aborigines and a fair sprinkling of Aryan settlers; and the alluvial strip of country almost entirely by Aryans.

The earliest settlers in the district are believed to be the Paharias, one branch of whom, *viz.*, the Maler, has been identified with the people called Malli by Megasthenes. This race found a refuge in the Rajmahal Hills, and there they have to this day retained their peculiar customs. The other branch of the tribe, the Mal Paharias, who are found in the south and west, has become Hinduized, and, unlike the Maler, they have no distinct language. Other early occupants of the district were the Bhuiyas, who held the forest tracts and passes, and owed allegiance to the Khetauris or Katuris. The latter seem to have had their chief seat at Kharagpur in the south of the Monghyr district, and to have exercised supremacy in the south of Bhagalpur and the north

of this district until they were overcome by Rajput adventurers from the north of India, who founded the Kharagpur Raj and subsequently became Muhammadans. Regarding the relations of these Khetauris and Bhuiyas, Mr. (now Sir) H. McPherson, I.C.S., writes :—"Katauri domination was confined to the region west of the hills, and the Bhuiyas were the aborigines of the forest tracts, over whom the Katauris exercised sway, and to whom they were closely related by blood and inter-marriage. The Katauris had possession of the more open country to the north, the Bhuiyas held the forest tracts as ghatwals under the Katauris.....The Bhuiyas belong to the same Dravidian stock as the hill Maler. They have lost their Dravidian tongue and have taken on a veneer of Hinduism. Their chiefs make the usual Kshattriya pretensions and calling themselves Surjyabansis disclaim connection with their Bhuiya kinsmen. But the physical characteristics of all are alike Dravidian, and in Captain Browne's time (1772-78) the chiefs never thought of claiming to be other than Bhuiya. The highest chiefs of the Bhuiyas are called Tikaits and are supposed to have received the mark of royalty. Inferior chiefs are called Thakurs, and the younger members of noble Bhuiya families are called Babus. Wealth and position do not always coincide with birth. The head of the Lakshmipur family, for example, is a Thakur, while the Patrol *ghatwal*, a much less considerable person, is a Tikait."

The number of Khetauris at the census of 1901 was returned as only 1,431, but the similarity of the name (which is also spelt Khetari or Kheturi) with Kshattriya and the claim of the Khetauris to be Kshattriya have, it is believed, led to them being regarded as Rajputs in many cases. Mr. W. B. Oldham, indeed, who has made a special study of them, estimates their number at 30,000. The number of Khetauris as ascertained at the census of 1931 is 26,787. The Bhuiyas, on the other hand, have a strength of 70,759, and are found mainly in the upland country to the west of the hills in the Dumka, Godda and Deoghar subdivisions.

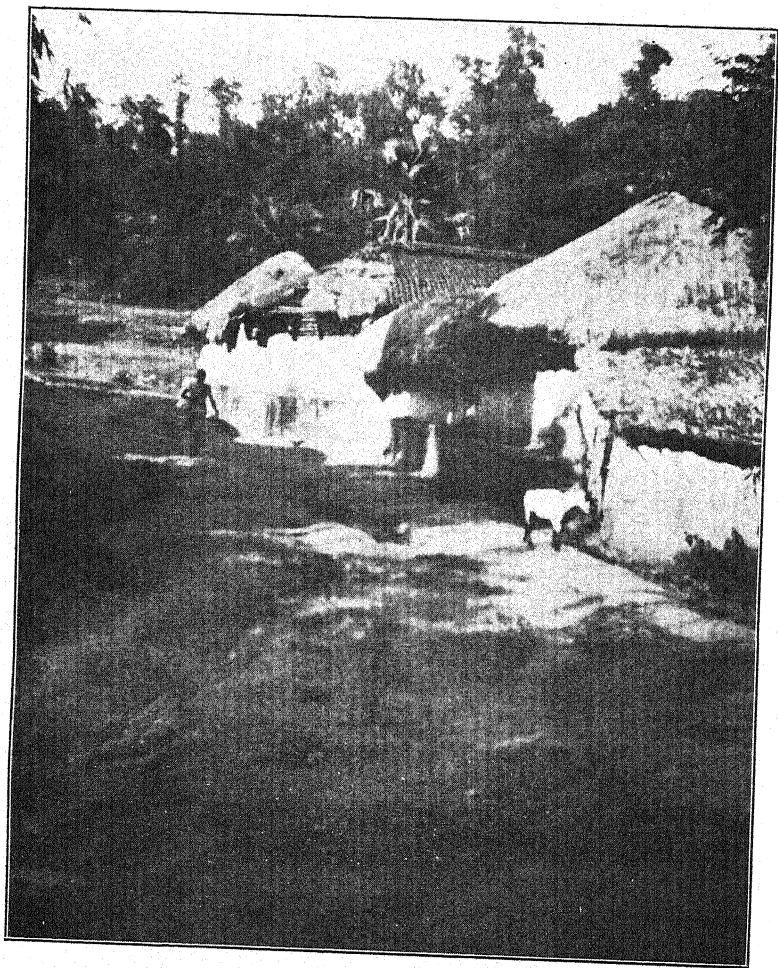
The following table shows the numerical strength (according to the census of 1931) of the different castes and tribes exceeding 10,000, classified under five heads, *viz.*,

Hindus, Aborigines, Semi-aborigines, depressed classes and Muhammadans :—

	Number.	Pro- portion.		Number.	Pro- portion.
<i>Hindus.</i>			<i>Aborigines.</i>		
(a) High castes—			Mal Paharia..	37,437	1·83
Babhan (Bhu- mihar Brah- man). ..	11,027	·56	Santals ..	754,804	36·80
Brahmans ..	42,668	2·08	Sauria Paharia	59,891	2·92
Kayasthas ..	10,769	·52	Mahli ..	17,687	·87
Rajput ..	21,200	·01	K a r m a l i, Munda, Oraons and Kora.	9,741	·47
	85,664			8,79,560	
(b) Pastoral and Agricultural castes.—			<i>Depressed classes.</i>		
Dhanuk ..	12,228	·59	Bauri ..	23,891	1·16
Goala ..	123,177	6·00	Chamar ..	42,774	2·08
Kahar ..	19,115	·94	Dom ..	39,248	1·91
Koiri ..	18,629	·908	Dosadh ..	10,959	·53
Kurmi ..	22,630	1·10	Musahar ..	15,739	·76
	195,779		Rajwar ..	10,866	·53
(c) Trading and industrial castes.—			Dhobi, Hari, Mochi, Pasi and Turi.	24,656	1·22
Bania ..	14,990	·73		1,68,133	
Hajjam and Napit. ..	23,497	1·14	<i>Semi-abori- ginals.</i>		
Kamar ..	26,412	1·28	Bhuiya ..	70,759	3·44
Kumhar ..	31,233	1·52	Khetauri ..	26,787	1·305
Tanti ..	13,146	·64		97,546	
Teli ..	54,679	2·66	<i>Muhammadians.</i>		
Barhi, Kandu, Kewat and Mali.	20,347	·99	Jolhas ..	125,499	6·12
	184,304*		Others ..	98,203	4·8
				223,702	

From this table it will be seen that the Santals are the predominant race in the district. They are comparatively

* This does not include Kalwar, and Suri which numbered 30,535 at the 1921 census as no separate figures are available for this caste in the 1931 census.



A typical Paharia village on a hill top.

new-comers, not being found in the district till the end of the 18th century. Since then, however, one body after another has poured into the district, until they are now found in all parts of it, being most numerous in the Damin-i-koh, where they account for nearly two-thirds of the population, and least numerous in the Deoghar subdivisions, where, however, they account for one-fifth of the inhabitants and are more numerous than any other caste or tribe. An account of them will be given in the next chapter. In this chapter it is proposed only to give an account of the Paharias, a race peculiar to this district.

The Paharias are divided into two branches:—(1) the ^{PAHA-} Maler, also known as the Male Paharias or Sauria Paharias, ^{RIAS.} who are found in the north of the Rajmahal Hills, and (2) the Mal Paharias, who are found in the south of the hills and also in the hilly and wooded country in the south and west of the district. The word Maler is generally written Maler, but it is written Maler both by Mr. W. B. Oldham, who made a special study of them and by the Revd. E. Droese whose grammar is the chief authority on their (Malto) language; and that spelling will therefore be adopted. The name is said to be simply the plural of Male, meaning "he is a man," but another theory is that the name is derived from the common Dravidian word Mala, meaning mountain, so that the original meaning of the name would be hillmen. The origin of the name Sauria is doubtful; it has been suggested that it originates in the term Savala Pahar being applied by Hindus to the Rajmahal Hills. The Santals call the Maler Mundas, and the Hindus call them simply Paharias.

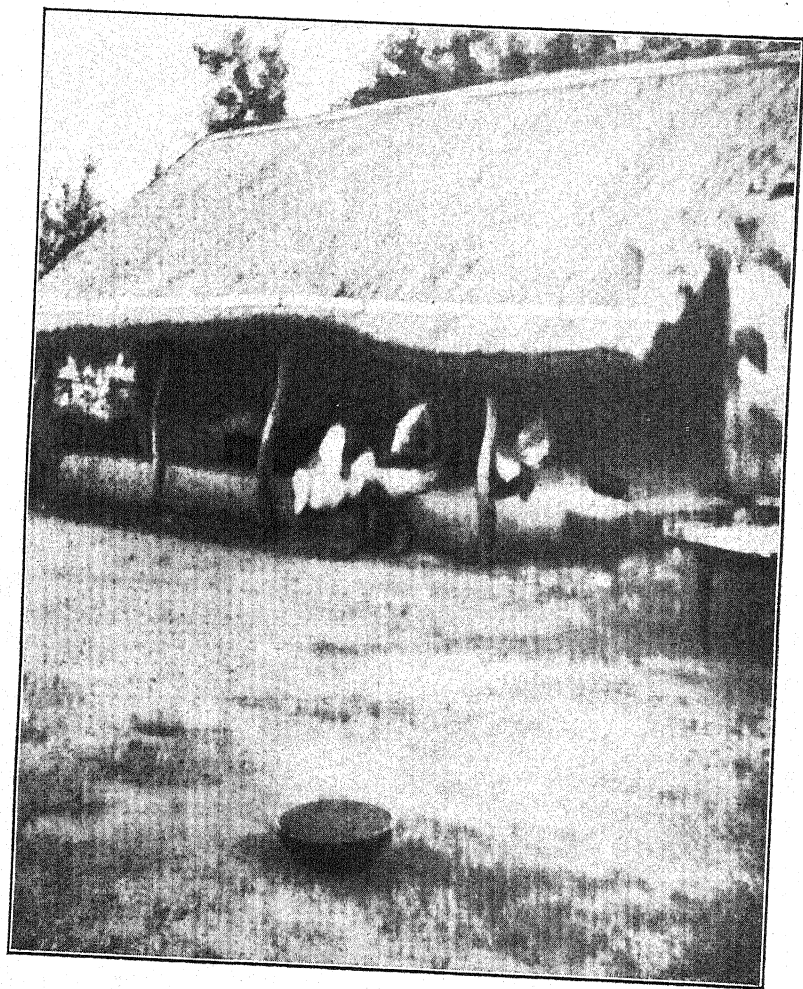
A clue to their origin is found in the tradition of the Oraons that their original home was in the Carnatic, whence they went up the Narbada river and settled in Bihar on the banks of the Son. Driven thence by the Muhammadans, the tribe split into two divisions. One of these, now represented by the Oraons, ascended the Son into Palamau, and, turning eastward along the Koel, took possession of the north-western portion of Chota Nagpur. The other branch, following the course of the Ganges, settled in the Rajmahal Hills and were the progenitors of the Maler. In these hills, hemmed in by the Ganges on the north and east, and shut off from the outer world by thick forest on the south and west, the Maler have remained almost untouched by outside influences to this day. They have no characteristic of language in common

with the races which surround them, from which too they differ in physiognomy, in their social habits, in the way of forming their villages and houses, and in their methods of cultivation.

Maler.

The Maler are now inhabitants of the northern portion of the Damin-i-koh, where they occupy the hillsides and tops of the hills, having been driven from the richer valleys by the more enterprising and industrious Santals. They live in village communities, each of which claims as its property certain hills, the boundaries of which are not well defined. Some of their villages contain 40 or 50 houses, but the majority are small, seldom containing more than ten houses. Each village has a headman or *manjhi*, who is ordinarily a stipendiary, receiving an allowance of Rs. 2 a month from Government. Besides these, there are headmen called *tikri manjhis* or *tikridars*, who hold either areas in the stipendiary villages with a sort of under-headman's rights or independent areas in which they exercise all a headman's rights. Such areas are called *tikris* (possibly from the Hindi *tikri*, a patch of poor soil) and appear to originate in the *tikridars* taking possession of portions of a hill and clearing them with their own labour or with the aid of other ryots. All the village communities fall within recognized divisions presided over by chiefs called *sardars*, under whom are sub-chiefs called *naibs*. In some ways they correspond to the Santal *parganait*s and *des-manjhis* respectively, but they are stipendiaries of Government receiving a monthly allowance, in return for which they have to report criminal offences and vital statistics. The *sardars* claim to hold all the villages subject to them, and the hills pertaining to those villages, as their own free property, subject only to the villagers' own rights. They claim and receive both a fixed yearly due and also a portion of the produce or profit derived by the villagers from the hills.

The Maler support themselves by the *jhum* or *kurao* method of cultivation, *i.e.*, a patch of land is cleared with axe and fire, the soil is hoed and seeds are dibbled in among the ashes, the site thus cleared and cultivated being known as a *jhum* or *kurao*. The process is repeated at intervals of five years, with the result that in some long ranges practically all vegetation has disappeared for miles, the slopes looking as if they had been scoured by landslips. The Maler supplement their crops by the products of the chase, but they are not expert archers or hunters.



Inside a Paharia house.

The Maler is short of stature and slight of make, with limbs long in proportion to his low stature. His complexion is a light brown; his nose is not prominent but flat and broad at the base: and his eyes have the peculiar beady look of the Dravidian. His hair is long and ringleted, and he keeps it well oiled and combed in a knot on the top of his head. According to Sir Herbert Risley, "in respect of physical characteristics the Maler represent the extreme type of the Dravidian race as we find it in Bengal. The nasal index measured on 100 men of the tribe yields an average of 94.5, which closely approaches the proportions ascertained for the Negro."

Physical
character-
istics.

Their general manner of life has been well described by Captain Sherwill, who wrote:—"The hill-man is much shorter than the Sonthal, of a much slighter make, is beardless or nearly so, is not of such a cheerful disposition, nor is he so industrious; his great delight appears to be attending the neighbouring markets, where, decked out with beads and chains, his hair fastidiously combed, oiled and ornamented, he will, in company with his friends both male and female, while away the greater part of the day. Labour is the hill-man's abhorrence, but necessity compels him to cultivate a small portion of the land for his actual existence; beyond this trifling labour he never exerts himself. He will nevertheless fish, or hunt or roam over miles of the forest searching for honey-combs, wild yams and other edible roots; he will travel many miles to get a shot at a deer or to secure a peacock. Such labour he considers in the light of amusement, but to have to clear away the forest for his crop he considers a great hardship; but clear it he must, and the hill-man generally chooses the most precipitous hillsides as the ground best fitted for his crops. In these spots an iron-sod staff or a pointed stick hardened by charring is used instead of the plough. With this implement holes are made in the soil at the distance of a foot or less from each other, into which are dropped a mixture of the following seeds, Indian corn, junera, bora beans and the seeds of several small pulses. The tall and robust Indian-corn and junera form an ample support to the twining bora bean, which in its turn affords a beneficial shade to the more delicate pulses at its feet. The heads of the Indian corn when ripe are stocked in bamboo granaries of various shapes, and which are raised off the ground on posts; whilst those required for immediate use are strung up to the

MANNER
OF LIFE.

roof of the huts, and as required for food are submitted to the operation of being husked in a wooden mortar; of the meal of this grain a thick and nutritious pasty-pudding is made, which forms the principal food of the hill people. The junera is treated in the same way, but the bora bean, kam ruhur and pulses are beaten out either by rubbing with the hand or by beating them on a log of wood." The Maler do not confine themselves to this vegetarian fare. They eat beef, pork, domestic fowls and all kinds of fish, and indulge freely in strong drink.

They are, on the whole, lazy and poor. " Abject poverty is no misnomer among the Saorias of to-day; six annas has to suffice many a family for victuals over eight weary days. Thriftless to a degree the Saoria garners but to squander at a festival, or to become the fortunate possessor of a godling. Superstition, and its handmaid Imagination, mould him at will, and in the grove or the tree he beholds with terror the Jampori (Demno ghost) and invests the inexplicable power of the railway train with a capacity for compassing the direst evil. He ascribes an epidemic of small-pox or cholera to the advent of inimical spirits by railway. He exorcises them by constructing a rude model of a train, wheels it through the village, and into the jungle, and desires the invisible passengers to journey onwards. Such is the Saoria of to-day, and such has he been for countless generations."* They have five territorial divisions, viz., Parte in the centre of the hill tract, Mandro on the north, Pubbi on the east, Chetteh on the east from Tinpahar, and Dakrni on the south and in the Pakaur subdivision. There is no prohibition of inter-marriage among these divisions. The dormitory system prevails, i.e., the marriageable girls have a house to themselves and the youths another. Sexual license, though prohibited in theory, is tolerated in practice; feasts and religious festivals end in riotous indulgence. Social affairs are regulated by a village *panchayat* composed, according to old custom, of the Sinyare or village headman, the Bandari or village messenger, the Kotwari, who is an executive official, and the Giri, who is an influential villager. The Bandari performs certain duties on ceremonial occasions, such as marriages and burials; and either he or the Demno (i.e., the diviner) preaches at

* F. B. Bainbridge, *The Saorias of the Rajmahal Hills*, Memoirs, A.S.B., Vol. II, no. 4, 1907.

ceremonies and festivals, exhorting the younger generation to observe the tribal customs and code of morals.

The following account of certain customs of the Maler is taken from *the Saorias of the Rajmahal Hills*, by Mr. R. B. Bainbridge (Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II, no. 4), to which the reader is referred for further details. An interesting account will also be found in Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, but this account was based mainly on a monograph by Lieutenant Shaw published in the Asiatic Researches of 1795. The information contained in the latter was obtained by Lieutenant Shaw from members of the crops of Hill Rangers at Bhagalpur and was apparently not verified locally. Colonel Dalton himself, it is plain, did not trust the monograph entirely, for he states that his account of the Paharia doctrines and ethics is an abstract of that communicated to Lieutenant Shaw by a *Subahdar*, who had been a *protege* of Mr. Cleveland, and had received some education from him. He adds—"I suspect the *Subahdar* was himself the 'Manu' of his tribe, and that many of his precepts were inspired by his patron." Religion.

The religion of the Maler is animism of the type common among Dravidian tribes. The deities worshipped by them are—Ber or Beru Gosain, Bilp Gosain, Laihu Gosain, Darmare Gosain, Jarmatre Gosain. These gods are not represented by idols; no special form of worship is prescribed; there is no special day fixed for their worship. They have no priests, and sacrifices are not offered to them except when the godlings of the Sauria pantheon are worshipped. Laihu, Darmare and Jarmatre Gosain* are invisible: the representations of Ber Gosain and Bilp Gosain are seen in the heavens as the sun and the moon. Jarmatre and Darmare Gosains, although separate deities, are regarded as attributes of Laihu Gosain. These gods are invoked at all ceremonies. They have power to benefit cultivation and also the public health, and they possess much greater power than the godlings. There are 23 godlings, besides several devils and evil spirits who have to be duly propitiated. Among the latter may be mentioned the Jampori, *i.e.*, the spirit of a dead Demno or diviner, which haunts and kills pregnant women.

As an example of the mode of worship of godlings the following is quoted:—"In the case of illness should the

* Laihu Gosain = the Creator. Darmare Gosain = Divinity of Truth, etc., Jarmatre = Divinity of Birth.

Demno or Charri Beddu advise a *puja* to Gumo Naddu, the householder takes rice and water and sprinkles them on the patient and in his house, saying : " If recovery takes place, I will sacrifice to thee O Gumo Gosain." The year having gone by, the date and name of the Tallu Beddu are ascertained and *pochai* is made ready. Two *sal* trees† are selected and the Tallu kills a fowl and sprinkles them with the blood. He then paints them with *sindur* and offers rice, *pochai* and *patki taddi* (*daru*). After this the trees are felled and the bark is taken off. They are then carried and placed in front of the householder's dwelling in line on the ground. The height of the house is measured while the Demno starts his incantations. When the poles are ready, the Demno gets astride of them and he is carried round the house five times. Before taking him round, however, his body is covered with the red ants found on mango trees, in order to ascertain whether the spirit has really entered, or whether the Demno is shamming! The bite of this large red ant is excruciating! The poles are then taken inside the dwelling, and fixed to, and lashed side by side with, the central post of the house on the south.‡ A mud altar is erected and *sindur* is applied thereon. Offerings of rice and *makai* are scattered and *daru* is sprinkled. The Demno does not allow the liquor to be wasted; he also eats the offerings in his excitement, saying " The god comes from this path," and other matters. Then the goat is brought and its head is taken off, the Demno drinking the blood as usual from the severed neck. This finishes the *puja*, and the feasting and carousals begin. Men and women dance together, and the festival ends in a licentious orgie."

The performance of *pujas* is a frequent occurrence. " *Pujas*," writes Mr. Bainbridge, " are offered on the village path to models of trains, umbrellas, elephants with three constables and two *mahauts* armed with swords and guns, also to leopards and tigers. When a *puja* is necessary, models of these are made and the ceremony takes place on the pathway leading to the village. In case of illness sometimes the Demno fixes upon a train after consulting the oracles. He says : " Many devils have come into the village by train : make offerings and cast them out." In the case of the elephant, constables and *mahauts*, the same thing is done. Leopards and tigers are propitiated, and *pujas* are offered to prevent

† One tree for the wife and the other tree for the husband.

‡ The Gumo Gosain *puja* takes place in February and March,

them from entering the village. *Puja* to the umbrella is also offered in the case of sickness. These ceremonies may take place during the course of an illness, and they are performed immediately, except in the case of the umbrella as more elaborate arrangements are required, and the ceremony ends with a dance. Small-pox and cholera epidemics are often ascribed to the advent of many devils by train. The elephant is also able to bring a number of devils, and it is said to be wise to sacrifice to them. These devils are not described, and the models of the train and elephant are thrown in the place indicated by the Demno, or by one of the village women who is in the habit of being possessed by *Gurya Gossain* ”.

A girl may not marry her brother, or any near blood relatives; she may, however, marry her fourth cousin. A man may marry an elder sister and a younger sister, but not a younger sister and then an elder sister. He may marry five or six wives, and may marry five or six sisters provided the eldest sister be willing. The first wife is the chief wife, and all others are her subordinates. All the household property is considered to be under her charge; the servants (if any) are under her orders. Her sons succeed to a third share of the father's property; the balance goes to the other wives and their children. In case of illness or absence of the first wife, the second wife occupies her place and is vested with her privileges. The wives all live in the same house. At night the husband sleeps in the centre, and the wives occupy beds on either side. In case of his having intercourse with a younger wife, without the consent of the elder wife, the husband is liable, on complaint, to a fine according to circumstances; for the first offence a warning is administered. A man may keep as many concubines as he can afford besides wives, but can only do so with the consent of the chief wife and the girls themselves.

Marriage between first cousins and second cousins is not allowed. When an intrigue between them is suspected, a *panchayat* is called, and, on satisfactory proof of the offence, two fowls (not capons) and two pigs are taken from the guilty parties. They are slaughtered and the blood is sprinkled with water at all the houses in the village by the Bandari. Salt is then brought by the Bandari and mixed with water in a leaf in the presence of the *panchayat*. The Bandari then says: “ If you two come together again, you will die within five days of the connection. You are henceforth separate. O Gosain! these two are henceforth separate; if they come

together again, destroy them within five days." The salt is placed on the leaf with the point of a sword or knife, or with the claw of a tiger or leopard. The offenders are made to drink the mixture by the Bandari. As the delinquents get up to go, the Bandari tears two *sal* leaves, one for each offender, repeating the curse. The girl and her parents keep the offspring of such a union. If a boy, he is admitted into caste without any special ceremonies, but until marriage he is not allowed to eat at *pujas* performed by the village. After marriage he is allowed to do so, if he gives a feast to the village. In the case of a girl, she takes her place with other women after marriage, but her husband has to feast the villagers.

If a younger sister's husband and an elder sister have a *liaison*, the man is fined Rs. 20 and is outcasted; the woman has her head shaved and painted with saffron and lime, and she is taken all round the village by the Bandari and made a public spectacle. The offenders are also told to go away and die in the jungle. If they have obtained property and a fresh household godling, they are readmitted to caste, after giving a feast to the village. The woman does not desert her lover, for the payment of Rs. 20 expiates the sin so far as she is concerned. This money is spent in a feast, at which the liver of a pig is broiled, offered with *patki taddi (daru)* to the ancestors of the offenders with the words:—"Grant, O ancestors, that this sin be not put to the account of the village, but to the account of the offenders themselves." The liver and liquor are disposed of by the *panchayat*.

There is nothing to prevent a Sauria from marrying a woman of another caste. This cannot be done according to old custom, but in practice the man and woman are admitted to caste by means of the usual feast. When they die, however, they are not buried in the Paharia cemetery until Re. 1 has been paid for each of them to the village headman. This sum is termed *bewah koreh* (*bewah*, offering at a *puja*, and *koreh*, together). The children of such unions are Saurias, are subject to no fines and penalties, and pay nothing to be buried in the village graveyard.

The following account of the funeral ceremonies of the Maler is given by Mr. Bainbridge:—"The dead are buried; the ancient custom is interment. After death the corpse is washed and oiled by the relatives. It is then clothed in its best apparel, *sindur* is placed on the forehead and chest, one

line down the nose and one line down the chest. Bows, arrows, all personal property, are brought and placed with the corpse. In the case of a woman, all her jewellery is put with the corpse; only one article belonging to the deceased is retained and produced on days of festival and *pujas* as a 'souvenir'. After this, the corpse is carried outside the house, and placed with its head towards the west, the feet being towards the east. Before taking the corpse outside, grain is scattered within and without the house, and, as a rule, the path taken by the corpse to the graveyard has grain scattered along its length for some distance. There is general lamentation. The corpse is carried by four individuals, relatives or others. A fowl is killed and is cooked with *makai* (Indian corn) and put in an earthen plate. On the way to the graveyard the *khatia* (bed) is placed on the ground, and all the relatives have one last look. From this point all the women-folk return. On reaching the graveyard, the grave is dug in depth to the height of an ordinary man, the bottom of the grave is laid out with poles and leaves, and the corpse is taken off the *khatia* and placed at the bottom of the grave on the poles and leaves. Then one of the relatives takes two leaves of the *bhelua* plant (*Semecarpus anacardium*) and places them over the face of the corpse. Poles are then driven in horizontally about half-way up the grave so as to make a platform over the dead body. After this the grave is filled in. The corpse is rifled of its jewellery and brass plates by the bearers. All the clothes of the corpse are torn in pieces and buried with the body. The grave finally has stones put on the top, and the cooked *makai* and fowl are placed at the four corners of the grave, saying: 'This is for you, O son, or wife; may your ancestors eat this and keep you in safety with them.' The party then bathes and returns home.

"A corpse is buried on the day of death. Arrows and bows, sticks and bead necklaces are buried; articles of real value are brought away. The grave is dug east and west, and the body placed with its head to the west. No prayers or *mantras* are repeated and the Demno is not required to be present. All articles taken away by the bearers are sold, and a *khassi* (goat) is bought by them with the proceeds and eaten.

"When the bearers return they receive a bull, cow, goat, pig or fowl, according to circumstances. The animal is killed outside the village, and cooked rice is provided by the relatives of the deceased. The party eats, and, after eating, the leaves

used as plates are collected by the Bandari, who places a wattle screen thereon; he then sits on it with two other persons—five persons may sit but not more; everyone is brought forward and asked: 'What claims have you against the deceased and what suspicions have you regarding his death?' Claims not put forward at this time receive no recognition afterwards. Suspicion as regards witchcraft, or death by poison, also must be put forward at this time. This being done, the Bandari collects the leaf plates and carries them, with the receptacle in which they are carried, and places them on the spot where the dead body was put down in order to enable the relations to have a last look. There are no ceremonies in respect of purification in the case of death. Death does not render the relatives unclean. During five days the near relatives of the deceased abstain from eating food cooked with oil and turmeric. After five days an animal is killed on behalf of the deceased within the village. The same day the bearers kill the animal purchased by them with the proceeds of property taken from the deceased. This animal is killed, cooked and eaten by them outside the village; the bearers and relatives and all the villagers, women and children, sit outside their houses, and *makai* rice and meat are given in *bhelua* leaves to everybody. *Pochai* is also given. Before feasting, some broiled liver, *pochai* and *makai* rice are placed by all the guests at the spot where the body was first laid down. These things are placed in *bhelua* leaves, and the relatives take precedence in making the offering. The deceased is called upon by name to accept the offerings made, and he is told of all that has been done for him; then everyone begins the feast. After this the elder sit and repeat a homily to the relatives, which may be translated as follows: 'Be not sorrowful, his days are ended and he has now been taken by the Laihu Gosain (Maker).' After the lapse of a year invitations to another feast are sent to all relatives, and these relatives bring offerings of rice and *pochai*.

"The Charri Beddu ties a stone to a string, or balances a bow, and sits facing the east, holding the string and the stone suspended. He says, 'O Ber Gosain, in whose name shall the drums be beaten to please the deceased?' Names are repeated until the pendulum or bow oscillates. The drums are beaten, according to the measure for this ceremony, by the individual thus selected. The Charri Beddu then asks: 'Who shall kill the goat to please thee, O deceased Rama?'

The name being ascertained, the Demno, who is present, is given some *pochai* inside the house, and he comes outside and everyone follows him. Straw is placed for him and he sits thereon. He takes a quantity in his hands. He washes his feet and hands, and then sits and calls to the deceased waving the straw in his hands : ' Oh come, these things are for thee; come, oh come! By the godlings and demons, by the rocks and the jungles, by all the powers of darkness and light, come, O Rama, come to the feast provided for thee,' etc. This incantation has to be seen; it is indescribable. The Demno becomes more and more excited, his limbs tremble and his voice comes from him in gasps and yells until, on a sudden, he says : ' I am here! I am Rama!! ' Then his relatives fall on him, and, weeping and laughing, dress him in saffron-stained garments. The Demno asks for things required by him, brass plates, and money too, if he has taken the trouble beforehand to find out where it is hidden. He says, ' O mother, where is my *thallia*, or money : bring it, mother. I and my ancestors are very poor, and I wish to take it with me; bring me so and so, father or aunt or sister ! ' Everything desired is given without suspicion. He also asks for food, and a quantity of each of the different kinds of food provided is heaped on a plate, and placed in the Demno's hands; being Rama, he eats and drinks and throws pieces of food over his shoulders to his deceased relatives calling them by name! While he is eating, the goat is killed and some of the blood is sprinkled over the food; while the blood is being sprinkled, the Demno seizes the goat, and, placing his mouth to the severed neck, drinks the blood. He also eats the mixture in his plate. The deceased's relatives have all placed something in the plate according to request, or, according to their own wishes. The Demno's mouth and face are smeared with blood. He yells and groans : he is truly an appalling spectacle!

" The opportunity is taken by the deceased's relatives to ask questions as to why he left them, etc., etc., and these are answered according to the ingenuity of the Demno, or they are met by requests for articles! Menstruating females are not permitted to feed the Demno. Having satiated himself with blood, the Demno says : ' I am now going back, I have eaten and drunken, and I am going back to Ber Gosain or Laihu Gosain '. Saying this, he falls down in a fit, rigid, and, to all intents and purposes, dead! Water is then poured over him and uncooked rice is thrown on him. This brings him

back to consciousness. He then takes water, and, after striking the near relatives with his matted locks, he sprinkles the water on the assembled crowd, saying: 'All sins are washed away.' He now throws away the straw. The articles collected by him, while personating the deceased, become his own property. Having been given to the deceased, at his own requests, no one dares to touch them except the Demno and his personal companions. All parties then adjourn to the feast, which lasts all night to the beating of drums. Dances are given by the girls and men, and the feast lasts as long as the *pochai* and food hold out. Before the guests leave, the nearest male relatives of the deceased on the father's and mother's side offer a piece of broiled liver and *pochai* and rice to Ber Gosain, saying: 'Let not such a feast be given again in his house, let such feasts be given again only on occasions of rejoicing and festival!' This ceremony is called *amte* (Malto), and *bhauj*, farewell (Hindi). Then the relatives and guests give money or other gifts to their hosts; and the hosts present two pigs or more to their guests. These are shot with arrows, and, after being cut up, the guests divide the meat, leaving one share to the hosts, and then take their departure after a general shaking of hands in the English fashion: the shaking of the right hand is a very old custom amongst men and women.

"These ceremonies apply to men, females and boys, but not to infants unable to speak. Such infants are buried outside the regular graveyard, and the bearers, before re-entering the village, are sprinkled with water by the Bandari. He also breaks an egg by casting it into the jungle, saying: 'May the disease which killed the child not attack the villagers.' A man or woman dying of small-pox is not buried. The body is covered with thorns, or wood, and left in the jungle in a hole! The five days' ceremony does not take place. When the village is free from disease, the feast and rejoicings described above take place. In such cases only clothes go with the corpse; and on the *amte* day the bearers get an extra share of the feast. In cholera the same customs are followed and the village is under taboo. In neither case is the corpse placed on the ground for a last view on its way to the jungle. In case of death by accident or snake-bite the usual ceremony is observed. In case of death by tigers, or other wild animals, the same customs are followed if the body is found; if not, the usual feast takes place after the lapse of a year.

"The Paharias do not employ Brahmans or Hindus as priests. In the case of a Paharia suffering capital punishment, or dying in a far country, the *bhawj* always takes place. The Simlong (Pakaur) and Chandana (Godda) Paharias burn their dead sometimes, but this is comparatively a new custom. It is inaccurate to say that the Demno is not buried. He is buried except when he dies without relatives; but anyone dying without relatives is left in the jungle. In the case of a chief a house is built over the grave, but this house is not repaired and gradually disappears. On the horizontal stakes at the bottom of the grave, *bhelua* or *sal* leaves are laid, and the corpse is placed thereon. In some cases the whole corpse is covered with leaves."

The Mal Paharias are a Hinduized section of the tribe, and differ in many respects from the Maler. They have the same slender build, but are darker, and also dirtier. They cut their hairs short, and some of them are taller and more robust than the Maler. Not only have they taken on a veneer of Hinduism, but they have adopted the language of their Aryan neighbours, speaking a corrupt form of Bengali. They are also far more advanced in their methods of cultivation, for they have learned to cultivate with the plough. They still *jhum*, however, in the South Pakaur and South Godda portions of the Damin-i-koh; in the Dumka Damin the practice has been stopped for many years by the Forest Department. Like the Maler, they cultivate the hill summits, but these often consist of miniature tablelands, especially in the south and south-western ranges: it is surprising what an amount of level surface one finds on them after climbing the steep hillsides.

They now regard the Maler as barbarians, contemptuously calling them Chet (a corruption of the Hindi *Chit* meaning supine), while one branch arrogates for itself the title of Kumarbhag, *i.e.*, the princely race, and claims kinship with the Rajput family of Sultanabad. There appears to be little doubt, however, of their common origin, and in Kunwarpal, which is the wildest and least accessible part of the Damin-i-koh, they assimilate in polity and mode of cultivation more to the Maler in the north than to their brethren elsewhere in the district. Here also they prefer to speak the Maler tongue instead of the dialect used by the Mal Paharias of the south and west. In fact, in this *tappa*, which lies on the boundary between the two sections of the Paharias, they are said to be undistinguishable from the Maler in language,

habits and appearance. Here the Santals have generally gained access to the higher valleys, where they cultivate the rich deep soil with the plough, while the Mal Paharias seem to have clung to the steep hillsides with their *jhums*, though they also use the plough in the flatter portions of the hill tops. Outside the Damin-i-koh, in the south-west of the district and in the Deoghar subdivision the Mal Paharias prefer to call themselves Naiya (or the reformed race) and Pujahar (or worshippers). In this part of the district they form the chief labouring class, but many of them have small agricultural holdings, and they often hold the post of village watchman. Their cultivation in the plains differs in no respect from that of their neighbours, though they are still addicted to *jhuming*, which they call *kuruabari*, if they get an opportunity.

Regarding the different social characteristics of the Mal Paharias, the following remarks of Mr. W. B. Oldham are of interest :—" It is only in Kunwarpal, where they stand alone in their hills, preserving, remnant though they are, much the same position as when they were a comparatively powerful race and first embraced Hinduism, that the Mals maintain a position at all proportionate to their claims to caste. In the plains, where they are dominated by their more Aryan and more purely Hindu neighbours, they retain only the titles which connect them with a royal race, and are otherwise among the lowest of the low. In the Deoghar subdivision they are called Pujahars and Naiyas; the former, I believe, merely a nickname evoked by the novelty of a jungle race being seen to perform Hindu worship; and the latter designating them, in distinction from their old demon-worship, as followers of a new creed."*

Religion.

The following account of the religion, funeral and marriage customs of the Mal Paharias is quoted from Sir Herbert Risley's *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* :—" At the head of the Paharia religion stands the sun, to whom reverential obeisance is made morning and evening. On occasional Sundays a special worship is performed by the head of the family, who must prepare himself for the rite by eating no salt on the previous Friday and fasting all Saturday, with the exception of a light meal of molasses and milk, taken at sunset after bathing. Before sunrise on Sunday morning a new earthen

* *Some Historical and Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan District.*

vessel, a new basket, some rice, oil, areca nuts and vermilion, and a brass *lota* of water with a mango branch stuck in it, are laid out on a clean space of ground in front of the house. The worshipper shows these offerings to the rising sun and prays, addressing the luminary as 'Gosain,' that he and his family may be saved from any specific danger or trouble that is supposed to threaten them. The rice is then given to a goat, which is decapitated while eating by a single blow from behind. The body of the animal is then cooked and served up at a feast, of which the neighbours partake; the head alone, which is deemed *prasad*, or sacred, being carefully reserved for the members of the family.

"Next in honour to the sun are Dharti Mai, mother earth, her servant, or as some say sister, Garami; and Singhbahini, who bears rule over tigers, snakes, scorpions and all manner of noxious beasts. To the earth goats, pigs, fowls, etc., are offered in Asarh and Magh, and buffaloes or goats are sacrificed about the time of the Hindu Durga Puja to the goddess Singhbahini, who is represented for sacrificial purposes by a lump of clay daubed with vermilion and oil and set up in front of the worshipper's house. The village *manjhi* officiates as priest. The Magh worship of Dharti Mai is clearly the festival described by Colonel Dalton under the name Bhuindeb, the earth god.* The Mals plant in their dancing place two branches of the *sal* tree, and for three days they dance round these branches, after which they are removed and thrown into a river, which reminds one of the Karma festivals as solemnized by the Oraons and Kols in Chota Nagpur. On this occasion the men and women dance *vis-a-vis* to each other, the musicians keeping between. The men dance holding each other above their elbows, the left hand of one holding the right elbow of the other, whose right hand again holds the left elbow of the arm that has seized him. The fore-arms touching are held stiffly out and swayed up and down. They move sideways, advance and retire, sometimes bending low, sometimes erect. The women hold each other by the palms, interlacing the fingers, left palm upon right palm, and left and right fore-arms touching. They move like the men.

"Two curious points may be added. The man at whose instance or for whose benefit the ceremony is performed must sleep the night before on a bed of straw; and the dancing

* *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 274.

party, who are greatly excited with drink, shout continually *bur, bur* (*pudendum muliebre*), a mode of invocation believed to be specially acceptable to the goddess. In this somewhat indelicate cry we may perhaps see a barbarous and undraped reference to the *vis genetriz naturæ* so prominent in many early forms of belief.

"Besides these greater elemental deities, the Mal Paharias recognize and propitiate a number of vaguely-defined animistic powers, chief among whom is Chordanu, a malevolent spirit needing to be appeased at certain intervals with sacrifices and the first fruits of whatever crop is on the ground. To the same class belongs Mahadana, for whom eggs are the appropriate offering. Among the standard Hindu deities Kali and Lakhi Mai (Lakshmi) are honoured with sparing and infrequent worship, the offerings in this case being the perquisite of the village headmen.

"Ancestor worship is in full force, and the *sacra privata* of a Mal Paharia household correspond precisely with those observed by the Maler tribe. The Lares are known to both by the familiar term Gumo Gosain or Deota, the gods of the wooden pillar (*gumo*), which supports the main rafters of the house. Around this centre are grouped a number of balls of hardened clay, representing the ancestors of the family, to whom the first fruits of the earth are offered, and the blood of goats or fowls poured forth at the foot of the pillar that the souls may not hunger in the world of the dead. As every household is guarded by its ancestral gods, so every village has a tutelary deity of its own—*Laren agri custodem*—who lives in a *sal* tree within the village. This tree is daubed with red lead and worshipped on certain occasions, and may on no account be cut down. The tribe have no priests, and the head of the household or village, as the case may be, performs all religious and ceremonial observances. Brahmans, however, are, to some extent, held in honour, and presents are given to them on festal occasions.

"The dead are usually burned, and a piece of bone is saved from the flames to be thrown away into a river or a deep tank the waters of which do not run dry. The relatives are deemed impure, and may not eat salt for five days. At the end of that time they are shaved, and partake of a feast provided by the eldest son. The funeral expenses are a first charge on the estate, and after these have been paid the balance is equally divided among the sons, daughters getting

Disposal
of the
dead.

no share. Very poor persons, who cannot afford to give a feast, bury their dead in a recumbent position with the head towards the south, and give nothing but a little salt and meal (*sattu*) to the friends who attend the funeral. In Buchanan's time it was the universal custom to bury the dead on the day of death. No *sraddha* is performed by the Mal Paharias proper, but some of the wealthier members of the Kumarbhag sub-tribe are beginning to adopt a meagre form of this ceremony in imitation of their Hindu neighbours.

“ Marriage is either infant or adult. Girls are rarely married before the age of ten or eleven, and usually not until they are fully grown up. In the latter case sexual intercourse before marriage is tacitly recognized, it being understood that if an unmarried girl becomes pregnant her lover will come forward and marry her. A professional match-maker (*sithu*) is usually employed by the bridegroom's people to search for a suitable wife. When his selection has been made, a visit of inspection is paid by the parents; and if the proposed bride is approved of, the price to be paid for her is settled by personal discussion. Custom ordains that the amount shall be an odd number of rupees, not less than five, nor more than twenty-five. It must be paid, either in a lump sum or by instalments, before the marriage can be celebrated. On the occasion of the final payment the bridegroom's parents send by the *sithu* some *bajra* beer and a *sari* for the bride, which is made over to her maternal uncle to be kept till the day of the wedding. Particular inquiries were made regarding the reason for thus selecting the maternal uncle as a sort of trustee for the bride's *peculium*, but no definite result was arrived at; and this usage, undoubtedly one of great antiquity, seems only to be explicable as a survival of female kinship, a system of which no other traces are met with in the tribe.

“ Shortly after the bride-price has been paid, the *sithu* is again sent to the bride's house, this time bearing an arrow wound round with yellow thread tied in as many knots as there are days to the date proposed for the wedding. The bride's people make their preparations accordingly, undoing a knot as each day passes. On the day before the bridegroom arrives and is lodged near the bride's house. Early next morning a big feast is given, after which the bridegroom takes his seat facing the east in a sort of arbour of *sal* branches built for the purpose. Here he is joined by the bride, dressed, like him, in a new cotton wrapper dyed yellow with turmeric,

who sits besides him while the maidens of his company comb out her hair. A *sal* leaf cup is offered to the bridegroom, containing red lead, which he daubs on the bride's forehead and the parting of her hair. The girls who combed the bride's hair take her hand, dip a finger into the red lead, and make seven spots on the bridegroom's forehead. This final and binding rite is received with a shout of applause, which is the signal for the Dom musicians in attendance to beat the drums for a dance. Towards evening the wedded pair go off to the bridegroom's house, where the whole party spend the night in dancing and drinking.

"Polygamy is permitted, and, in theory at least, there are no restrictions on the number of wives a man may have. Practically, however, the poverty of the tribe and their hand-to-mouth fashion of living set strict limits to the exercise of this right, and few Paharias indulge themselves with the luxury of a second wife, except when the first happens to be barren. A man may marry two sisters, but he must follow the order of age, and if already married to a younger sister, may not take an elder sister to wife.

"A widow may marry again. She is expected to marry her late husband's younger brother if there is one; but if he does not wish to marry her, any member of the caste not barred by the prohibited degrees may have her on paying a bride-price of Rs. 2 to her late husband's relatives. No ceremony is required, nor is *sindur* used. The husband merely gives the woman a new cloth and takes her to his house. A wife may be divorced with the sanction of the caste council or *panchayat* for adultery or persistent and incurable ill-temper. As a rule arrangements of this sort are effected by mutual consent, the parties tearing a *sal* leaf in two before the *panchayat* as a symbol of separation. The seducer of a married woman is required to repay to her husband the sum which she cost him as a virgin. Divorced wives may marry again in the same manner as widows, and for the same bride-price, which is paid to their own, not to their late husband's, relations."

It does not appear that the Paharias are a dying race. A report submitted in 1836 by Mr. Dunbar, then Collector of Bhagalpur, shows that Cleveland estimated their number in all the hills at 100,000; while he himself basing his calculation partly on personal knowledge and partly on the registered number of houses, estimated their number in the demarcated

tract alone at about 50,000. These figures must be regarded as conjectural, but it is perhaps not an unfair assumption that, like other early estimates of population, they were in excess of the actual numbers. The total number of Paharias in the district returned at the several census operations was as below :—

.....		Maler or Sauria Paharias.	Mal Paharias, Naiyas and Pujahars.	Total.
1872	...	68,335	18,000	86,335
1891	...	111,592	{ 7,837 17,068 }	136,497
1901	...	47,066	41,048	88,114
1911	...	62,734	38,553	101,287
1921	...	55,600	39,972	95,572
1931	...	59,891	37,437	97,328

This is nearly 5 per cent of the total population of the district.

CHAPTER IV.*

THE SANTALS.

TRADITIONS.

THE traditions of the Santals represent them as a race wandering from one country to another until they found their present home in Chota Nagpur and the adjacent districts. Starting with the creation, these traditions tell us how the first human pair came into existence, how they fell into sin, *i.e.*, had sexual intercourse with one another, after having been taught to brew and drink *handi* by Lita, and how they begot seven sons and seven daughters, who ended in marrying one another, whereupon the human race greatly multiplied, but also became very wicked. This happened while they were living in Hihiri-pipiri. They then came to a land called Khoj-kaman, where God called upon them to return to Him; but they would not. Thereupon He decided to exterminate the race, sparing only one holy pair—whether the first pair or some other is forgotten—who were ordered to enter a cave in the mountain of Harata. They obeyed, and then for seven days and seven nights it rained fire (or, as some say, water), so that all the rest of mankind and all animals were destroyed. After the rain of fire ceased the pair came out and a new human race sprang from them. They lived for some time close to Harata, but moved from there to Sasan-beda, *i.e.*, a flat riverside land (*beda*) with turmeric (*sasan*). Here the race was divided into nations and tribes having the same tribal names as the children of the first pair with five more added. From Sasan-beda they came to Jarpi. As they wandered on they encountered a high range of hills, in trying to cross which they nearly lost their lives. It was so high that it was long into the forenoon before they saw the sun—a proof, be it noted, that they were travelling east. Here they started worshipping Marang Buru (the big mountain); till then they had worshipped only God. Through the Sin pass and Baih pass they came to Aere, from there to Kaende, thence to Chae (Chai), and finally to Champa.

In Champa they lived in prosperity under their own kings for a long time. At first they dwelt in peace with the Hindus,

*This chapter was, originally compiled with the help of the Revd. P. O. Bodding of Mohulpahari.

because they had helped Rama against Ravana, but later on they had fights with the Hindus and among themselves. In Champa several races (the Mundas, Birhors, Kurmis and others), separated from what was, according to the traditions, till then the common Kharwar race. From Champa they came to Tore Pokhori Baha Bandela, where the people after twelve days' or twelve years' discussion—tradition has forgotten which—decided to give up certain old customs and to adopt new social customs. Thence they migrated to various places, *e.g.*, Sikhar and Sant, and at length came to their present homes.

On the basis of these traditions several theories have been put forward to account for the origin of the Santals. The Revd. I. O. Skrefsrud has conjectured that they lived successively in Persia, Afghanistan and Chinese Tartary, and entered India from the north-west, that they settled in the Punjab and made their way thence to the Chota Nagpur plateau.* Colonel Dalton believed that the Santals came from North-East India, and found their way to the Chota Nagpur plateau and the adjoining highlands by the line of their sacred stream, the Damodar river. In support of this theory he cited certain remarkable coincidences of custom and language between the Santals and some of the aboriginal tribes on the north-eastern frontiers of India, from which he inferred a connection in the remote past. This theory of a north-eastern origin was also accepted by Sir William Hunter in the *Annals of Rural Bengal*. Colonel Waddell, again, regards the Santal tradition of their wanderings "as a record of actual tribal progress from the central alluvial valley of the Ganges south-westward to the hills, under pressure of the Aryan invasion of the valley from the north."†

With reference to this theory Dr. A. Campbell writes:—
 "The theory which seems to me capable of proof is that the Santals, or rather the people of whom they are a portion, occupied the country on both sides of the Ganges, but more especially that in the north. Starting from the north-east, they gradually worked their way up the valley of the Ganges till we find them in the neighbourhood of Benares, with their headquarters near Mirzapur. Here the main body, which had kept the northern bank of the river, crossed, and, heading

**Introduction to Grammar of Santali Language*, 1873.

†*The Traditional Migration of the Santal Tribe*, Indian Antiquary, 1893.

southwards, came to the Vindhya hills. This obstruction deflected them to the left, and they at length found themselves on the tableland of Chota Nagpur." Dr. Campbell further believes that the traditions point to a remote past and not to recent migration inside the Chota Nagpur plateau. "Efforts," he writes, "have been made to identify the countries, rivers, forts, etc., mentioned in the traditions of the Santals with those of similar names in Chota Nagpur. Localities have in many instances been found bearing traditional names, and the inference has been drawn that it was here that the traditions of the Santals took their rise, and that their institutions were formed. But only a slight knowledge of these traditions is necessary to show that they belong to a much more remote period than the location of the Santals in Chota Nagpur, and to countries separated from it by many hundreds of miles."*

This latter theory is not accepted by Sir Herbert Risley, in whose opinion the legend of the Santals does not appear to deserve serious consideration as a record of actual wanderings. "A people whose only means of recording facts consists of tying knots in strings, and who have no bards to hand down a national epic by oral tradition, can hardly be expected to preserve the memory of their past long enough or accurately enough for their accounts of it to possess any historical value. If, however, the legends of the Santals are regarded as an account of recent migrations, their general purport will be found to be fairly in accord with actual facts." The same authority then proceeds to point out that it is clear that there was once a large and important Santal colony in *parganas* Chai and Champa in the Hazaribagh district, and that there is some evidence that a fort of theirs was taken by the Muhammadans. "If the date of the taking of this fort by Ibrahim Ali were assumed to be about 1340 A.D., the subsequent migrations of which the tribal legends speak would fill up the time intervening between the departure of the Santals from Chai Champa and their settlement in the present Santal Parganas. Speaking generally, these recent migrations have been to the east, which is the direction they might *prima facie* have been expected to follow. The earliest settlements which Santal tradition speaks of, those in Ahiri Pipri and Chai Champa, lie on the north-western frontier of

*A Campbell, *Traditional Migration of the Santal Tribes*, Indian Antiquary, 1894, pp. 103-4.

the tableland of Hazaribagh and in the direct line of advance of the numerous Hindu immigrants from Bihar. That the influx of Hindus has in fact driven the Santals eastward is beyond doubt, and the line which they are known to have followed in their retreat corresponds on the whole with that attributed to them in their tribal legends.”*

On this subject Mr. Bodding writes :—“ It is as yet very difficult to say anything definite as to the origin of the Santals, or rather of the race to which they belong. They have had no written records of their own. To come to a conclusion, therefore, we have to examine and rely upon other materials. These are their traditions, their customs, their language, their anthropological features and what may be found in foreign records. As to their traditions, it is possible to accord them too high a value; but I feel sure no one who has got a true knowledge of them will be inclined to despise them. It is true they contain much phantastic stuff, apparently borrowed from foreigners. When you hear part of the story of the creation, you are reminded of myths of the same kind prevalent, *e.g.*, in Southern Burma. Much is childish. But, on the other hand, it is difficult to avoid the impression that below the surface there are remnants of true facts.

“ The traditions have been handed down from *guru* to *chela* from generation to generation. They differ in minor details, but all have certain fragments of songs in common, which record the main events. The traditions have a practical interest for the people; they are repeated by the *gurus* on certain occasions, of which I shall only mention the so-called *chacho-chhatiar*, the ceremonial feast when a young person is formally taken into the tribe and given the rights of a Santal. One indispensable part of the ceremony is that a *guru* recites the traditions, beginning with the creation and ending with how they came to their present home. It will be seen that in this way the traditions are always kept up to date, and that they possess a real living interest for the people, enough to give them more than a mythological value.

“ I am inclined to believe that the Chai and Champa mentioned are to be found in Hazaribagh and on the Chota Nagpur plateau, and from this point it is not difficult to verify the wanderings of the people as told by the traditions. As to what lies before that time and those places, it is difficult to pronounce an opinion. It cannot at best be anything more

**Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. II, pp. 225-6.

than a dim recollection, the more so when it is borne in mind that the Santals, shortly after leaving Champa, deliberately gave up old and adopted new social customs. I am inclined to think that the skeleton of the first part of the traditions refers to the remotest antiquity, but that the facts have possibly been mixed, so that details belonging to a later period may have been fitted on to an earlier one. That part of the traditions refers to the people's existence outside India seems beyond doubt.

“ Before leaving the traditions I may mention three statements found in them. They may mean nothing or hide the solution of the problem of the origin of this race. The first is the very beginning of the traditions, which says :— ‘ Towards the rising of the sun is the birth of man.’ The second is the statement (mentioned later in the section on mythology) that after the pair of swan (*hans hasil*) had got a boy and girl out of their eggs, and had fed and kept them for some time, they became very anxious as to where they should place them. They implored God to help them, and he recommended them to fly out and seek a place for the two human beings. They went forth towards the setting of the sun and found Hihiri Pipiri, reported this to God, and were ordered to take the boy and girl there, which they did carrying them on their backs. The third is that the old traditions say that man was born on the ocean. The traditions elsewhere declare or imply that the migrations have been towards the east, excepting perhaps the wanderings to Khoj-kaman and Sasan-beda.

“ As a general rule the customs and institutions of a people will give some hints as to their previous connections, and this is also the case with the Santals. But, as already mentioned, they have at a certain time (probably in our 15th century) deliberately discarded some old social customs and adopted new ones, doubtlessly under Hindu influence, and got some Aryan social customs altered to suit their convenience. I should not be surprised to find that they have at some time had regular Hindu teachers. Still a great many of the original customs are preserved; and the handling of the adopted ones also is original. It is quite true that many of their customs point to the east, much further even than Assam, and others perhaps to the north. The matter has, however, not been sufficiently investigated as yet to give us a right to base more than hypothesis on what we know.

" Another source of knowledge is the language, and a careful study yields wonderful results and brings to light unimpeachable facts. The Santal language has a pure non-Aryan skeleton, with very few exceptions a pure grammar, and an often rich vocabulary of words denoting everything which can in any way be observed with the senses, names of the body and parts of it, etc., in short, all which is their own by nature. But when it comes to words which denote most things that appertain to civilization, complex states of mind, abstract thought, etc., or names for social functions and relations brought about by marriage, not to mention law terms, we find most of them have been borrowed from their neighbours. All these additions with very few exceptions are of Aryan origin, and belong to one or other of the Aryan vernaculars of North India. The most recent additions come from Bengal, or even Assam, being importations by returned tea garden coolies; previous to that we have appropriations from Bihari and other forms of Hindi. A good many words must have been borrowed far to the west; their peculiar form is a sure sign that the ancestors of the Santals must have been living much further west than Chota Nagpur.

" On the other hand, there are a few linguistic features in the Santal language which may perhaps find an explanation in trans-Himalayan languages. As far as I know, some phonetic peculiarities of the Santal and other Munda languages are not found further west than the present habitat of these races, but are, on the contrary, met with eastwards. The linguistic relatives of the Santals are at present to be found to the east, specially in Southern Burma and on the Malay Peninsula (Mon-Khmer and other languages); and a conviction is gradually establishing itself that these peoples belong to a large race living now eastwards so far as the Pacific islands, and having their westernmost ' friends ' in India. It is not as yet more than a hypothesis; but what is known distinctly points in that direction. There is, of course, a possibility that what is found common in all their languages is borrowed from a now unknown common source.

" We then come to the anthropological question. The Santals have been classified as belonging to the Dravidian race, and this classification has been based on anthropological measures; linguistically there is absolutely no connection between the two, except a few words borrowed. The features are very much alike, and the anthropological measurements

give very similar results. But a good many races in this world would in that case have to be classified as Dravidians. Both may have a common origin in the unknown past; but apart from these measurements we know nothing to connect the races with any certainty. Besides, the Dravidian type, although the prevalent one, is by no means the only one found. Several Aryan types are met with, and a Mongoloid one is not very uncommon. Other types may be found, but too few to be taken into account. All this proves mixture of blood at some time or other. What I would especially draw attention to in this connection is the Mongoloid type, and types resembling what is found in Assam, Burma and further on. To obtain sure results, however, it is necessary to have exact measurements of all types, not only of the Dravidian one. There is a possibility that they may have been a Dravidian tribe, which for some reason or other gave up their old language and adopted a new one; we find instances of a similar nature even among the Kharwarian tribes. But there is no trace of this having happened, and I think it is safest to await further investigations before adopting such a theory.

“ Finally, we have what outsiders have recorded and connecting points in the history of other better known races. There is not much more than what is mentioned in Sir H. H. Risley's excellent work (*Tribes and Castes of Bengal*), and what has been recorded here further down in this chapter. It all refers to a recent or comparatively recent time. I think it may be ascertained that the ancestors of these races were living west of Benares about the commencement of our era—I am accepting the theory that the Cheros originally belonged to the Kharwars. The fact that the *Ramayana* tells us about the help of Hanuman should not be overlooked, but be compared with the statement of the traditions that the Kharwars helped Rama.

“ When all this is summed up, the result is rather meagre. We may be fairly sure that the ancestors of the race to which the Santals belong were living on the Chota Nagpur plateau about six hundred years ago, and that they had at that time been living there for many generations. Their traditions and their language make it likely that they have reached this place from the west (south-west); and it is not improbable that about two thousand years ago they were on both sides of the Ganges west of Benares.

"If we are to accept the traditions of the people these either affirm or pre-suppose that, since the time when the human race was split up into nations, they have always been wandering in a more or less easterly direction—a direction which now-a-days also is followed by them in all their migrations. This would imply that they came into India from the north-west. I must confess that I personally was long of this opinion, and I have not given it up altogether; but I am more and more getting my eyes opened to the fact that the Santal and Munda peoples have their connections towards the east. It is possible that the Santals and other Munda tribes have come from the east into India, that they at first advanced far to the west, and that after some time they were forced by the invading Aryans to retrace their steps; but it is also just as possible that they are the last remnants and laggards of a race which came from the west and has spread to the east and south. As far as I can see, it is not possible to pronounce a more definite opinion at present."

Whatever may have been the original habitat of the race, ^{THE} there is no doubt that within historic times they were settled ^{SANTAL} in the Chota Nagpur plateau and in the adjoining districts of ^{ADVANCE.} Midnapore and Singhbhum, and that they began to make their way northwards towards the close of the 18th century. The earliest mention of them appears to be contained in an article entitled "Some Extraordinary Facts, Customs and Practices of the Hindus" by Lord Teignmouth (Sir John Shore), which was published in the Asiatic Researches of 1795. In this article they were designated "Soontars" and described as a rude unlettered tribe residing in Ramgur (Ramgarh), the least civilized part of the Company's possessions, who have reduced the detection and trial of persons suspected of witchcraft to a system." The first mention of the Santals in this district occurs in Montgomery Martin's *Eastern India* (compiled from Buchanan Hamilton's manuscripts), which contains two references to them, in one of which their name is spelt "Saungtar," while in the other a printer's error has converted it to "Taungtar." The first is:—"It is only in Lakerdewani that some impure Taungtars have been permitted to work the cow, and the most violent opposition was at first made to such an atrocious innovation; but the obstinacy of the barbarians prevailed, chiefly, I believe, because they were thought powerful in witchcraft, and because

disputes with such people were considered as dangerous." The second is :—" The tenants of Behar in general transact their own business with the agents of the zamindars, and it is only among the rude tribe called Saungtar, and in the Bengalese parts of the district that a kind of chief tenant is employed to transact the whole affairs of the community." These passages, as Mr. (now Sir) H. McPherson, I.C.S., points out, are interesting as they illustrate three peculiarities of the Santals, viz., their contempt of Hindu prejudices, their superstitious belief in witchcraft, and their communal system, all of which survive in undiminished strength to the present day.

Further information about the Santals at this early time has been obtained by Mr. (now Sir H). McPherson from the unpublished manuscripts of Buchanan Hamilton, in which it is stated :—" The Saungtars are a tribe that has a peculiar language. So far as I could learn, about 500 families are now settled in the wilder parts of the district. This, however, is a late event, and they came last from Birbhum in consequence of the annoyance which they received from its zamindars. The original seat of this tribe, as far as I could learn from them, is Palamau and Ramgarh. They are very expert in clearing forests and bringing them into cultivation, but seldom endure to pay any considerable rent, and whenever the land has been brought into full cultivation and the customary rent is demanded, they retire to the wastes belonging to some other zamindars. A whole village always moves at once, and their headman (*manjhi*) makes a bargain with the new landlord for the whole, agreeing to pay a certain sum for as much land as they can cultivate. At first they pay a trifle, but this is annually increased until the full sum becomes due. If any attempt is made to take more from any individual the whole run off. The *manjhi* levies the assessment on the individuals according to the stock which each possesses. The office of *manjhi* is considered hereditary; but if the people of a village are discontented they apply to the zamindar and say that they will no longer pay their rents through such a man, but wish to have such another person appointed their *manjhi*. There is no distinction of family rank between the *manjhis* and their inferiors—all eat in company and intermarry." Buchanan Hamilton then proceeds to give an account of their religious beliefs, which need not be quoted here.

The first extract given above will be sufficient to show that by the end of the first decade of the 19th century the Santals had settled in considerable numbers in Lakerdewani, i.e., Handwe and Belpatta, two tracts lying outside the hills. They had made their way there from Birbhum, where they appear to have been brought in to clear the country. 'Birbhum' is meant no doubt that portion of the district now included in subdivisions Deoghar and Jamtara.* According to Sir William Hunter:—"The Permanent Settlement for the land tax in 1790 resulted in a general extension of tillage, and the Santals were hired to rid the lowlands of the wild beasts which, since the great famine of 1769, had everywhere encroached upon the margin of cultivation. This circumstance was so noticeable as to find its way into the London papers, and from 1792 a new era in the history of the Santal dates."† By 1818 the Santals had made their way further north into the forests below the hills in the Godda subdivision, and even into the Damin-i-koh; for Mr. Sutherland, writing in that year, noticed their presence in *tappas* Dhamsai and Jamni Harnipur and also in *tappa* Sarmi of *pargana* Handwe, and in *tappas* Marpal and Daurpal, which are included in the Dumka portion of the Damin-i-koh. By 1827 the Santals had got as far as the extreme north of the Godda subdivision, Mr. Ward when demarcating the Damin-i-koh finding three Santal villages in Patsunda and 27 villages in Barkop. His first impressions of the Santals are interesting. "There are," he wrote, "within this described line two or three villages established by the race of people called Santars. These people are natives of the Sighbhum and adjacent country; their habits and customs are singular; they are of no caste, extremely hardy and industrious, and are upon the whole considered an extraordinary race of beings. They emigrate from their own country to those districts which are known to abound most in forests, and where they are welcomed by the zamindars, who invite them to settle. From choice they select the most wild spots, and so great is their predilection for the wildest places, that they are seldom known to remain at one station longer than it takes to clear and bring it into cultivation. They take 'pattahs' from the zamindars, the terms of which are

* Page 30 of Mr. (Now Sir) H. McPherson's Final Report of the S. P. Settlement 1898-1907.

† *Annals of Rural Bengal*.

generally one rupee per annum for every plough used and the 'nuzzer' of a kid. They are quiet and peaceably disposed, and so much liked by the zamindars for the great use they are of in clearing forest lands, where from the nature of the climate others could not be established, that they generally meet with the best treatment."

It will be noticed that in the above extract Mr. Ward referred to Singhbhum as the place of origin of the Santal immigrants he met, and from depositions which he took it appears that they had left and were still leaving Singhbhum because of disturbances there.* The part of Singhbhum from which they migrated was probably Dhalbhum, in which the Santals are still very numerous, and its neighbourhood. It is not known what were the disturbances alluded to, but the account of the Santals in Midnapore, of which Dhalbhum then formed part, given (in 1820) in Hamilton's *Hindustan* may help to explain the circumstances which would lead them to emigrate. "Some parts of these jungles are occupied by a poor miserable proscribed race of men called Sontals, despised on account of their low caste by the inhabitants of the plain country, who would on no account allow any one of them to fix himself in their villages. The peasantry in the vicinity, by way of distinction, call themselves good creditable people, while they scarcely admit the Sontals within the pale of humanity; yet the latter are a mild, sober, industrious people, and remarkable for sincerity and good faith. The zamindars give them no leases, yet on the whole treat them well; for such is their timidity that they fly on the least oppression, and are no more heard of. Notwithstanding they hold their lands on such easy terms, and scarcely ever have their verbal tenures violated, they are said to be naked, half-starved, and apparently in the lowest stage of human misery; a result we should not have expected from the character above assigned them. Their villages are generally situated between the cultivated plains and the thick jungles, in order that they may protect the crops of their more fortunate neighbours from deer and wild swine. In some instances they have known to till their lands with considerable success, and raise good crops of rice and collie (*kalai*); but all that their vigilance can preserve from the ravages of wild beasts is extorted from them by the rapacity of the money-lenders. To these miscreants the

* W. B. Oldham, *Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan District*, p. xxii.

Santals, who have but a slender knowledge of the value of money, pay interest at the rate of 100 per cent. for their food, and nearly 150 per centum for their seed; so that when their crops are ready, little or nothing remains for themselves."

Buchanan Hamilton's information was that disputes with the Birbhum zamindars drove the Santals into Handwe and Belpatta, and the date of their settlement there may be placed between 1790 and 1810. It was probably a later influx (between 1815 and 1830) which brought the tribe to the notice of Mr. Sutherland in 1816 and of Mr. Ward, the demarcator of the Damin-i-koh, between 1826 and 1833. These pioneers were soon followed by large numbers of their tribesmen, who between 1836 and 1851 flocked into the Damin-i-koh, where they cleared the jungle and received land on easy terms. According to Captain Sherwill, there were no less than 83,265 Santals in the Damin-i-koh alone

1872	...	455,513	in 1851. The marginal table shows
1891	...	617,158	their strength in the whole district at
1901	...	670,535	each census except that of 1881, when
1911	...	668,149	the figure returned (9,148) was obviously
1921	...	676,459	incorrect. The total number of
1931	...	754,804	Santals in Bengal at the 1931 census

was 796,656, the most numerous being in Midnapur (169,750), Bankura (114,577) and in Burdwan (101,532). In Bihar, the Santals can be found in large numbers in Manbhum (282,315), Hazaribagh (129,103) and Singhbhum (108,890).

The name Santal, spelt in one way or another (*e.g.*, ORIGIN OF NAME. Sonthal), is an English form adopted from Hindi, which corresponds with the form Saontar used by the Bengali-speaking peoples. Both names are only applied to the tribe by non-Santals, and the Santals do not use them in speaking about themselves except as a concession to foreigners; then they prefer the form Saontar. Both Santal and Saontar have the same origin, according to phonetic law and practice in the different languages. The Santals themselves state that they got this name through foreigners commencing to call them so whilst and because they were living in Saont (Sant, as they pronounce the name of the country), which has been identified with the modern Silda *pargana* in the Midnapore District. Etymologically there is nothing against this, *al* being a suffix used in Hindi and other Aryan languages to

form possessional adjective from substantives, and *ar* doing the same for the Bengali word.

Mr. W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., is of opinion that the name is an abbreviation of Samantawala. Samanta, he says, is another name given to the Silda *pargana*, whence the immigrant Santals discovered by Mr. Ward in 1828 deposed that they had come. "As in Bengal all trans-frontier Pathans, even if Khorasani or Baluch, are called Kabuli, or as in the Santal Parganas all Hindustani money-lenders, even Marwaris, are called Bhojpuria, because the first and most conspicuous of their kind came from Bhojpur in Shahabad, so would so remarkable a people as the Santals on their first appearance in Burdwan and Birbhum be called after the place whence some of them were known to have come." In regard to this latter theory it may be mentioned that the Silda *pargana* is known locally as Samantabhui, but by the Santals (who elide the *m*) as Santbhui, the tradition being that the country was so called because it was conquered by a Samanta Raja, *i.e.*, a general of the Emperor of Delhi. There are, moreover, signs of a fairly old Santal settlement in the *pargana*, and round about it a dense population of Santals accounting for over one-third of the inhabitants. There is also a tract called Samantabhumi or Santbhumi in the Bankura District, which the Santals claim to have colonized, and legend relates that it was held by 12 Samanta brothers, a number which will recall the 12 Santal sects.

Regarding these theories Mr. Boddington writes:—"That Sant and Saont are to be derived from the (originally Sanskrit) word Samanta seems to be very probable. As a matter of fact all the forms (Sant, Saont, Saot and Sat) are easily derivable from this according to common Aryan phonetic laws. There is no doubt that the word itself is of Aryan origin. If a translation of the word is sought, the original meaning would be something like "bordermen," but as they have probably got the name in the way mentioned, the meaning implied by the users of the word would not be that; they are 'Saonters.' "

The Santals call themselves simply Har, meaning man, and state that they were formerly called Kharwar. It is only since 1917, that a Santal has learned to tell a stranger what his name and sept is. Prior to that, as a rule, he would simply say "Manjhi".

The Santal is a man of medium stature, but muscular and sturdily built, wiry and capable of great physical endurance. His complexion is dark, varying from brown to an almost jet black colour. The latter is very rare, while a light-brown complexion is by no means infrequent, and would be much oftener in evidence, if the Santal did not expose his body to sun and air as he does: the Mongoloid types are generally fair coloured. He is beardless or nearly so, but has coarse and sometimes curly hair on the pate. It was formerly the custom for all Santals to wear long hair gathered together in a knot, but now-a-days it is very seldom that one sees a man with long hair; if it is long, there is generally a small comb fixed on the left side. The cheek bones are somewhat prominent, the nose is generally broad and depressed, the mouth is large, and the lips are full and projecting. According to Sir Herbert Risley:—"In point of physical characteristics the Santals may be regarded as typical examples of the pure Dravidian stock. The proportions of the skull, approaching the dolichocephalic type, conclusively refute the hypothesis of their Mongoloid descent." Faces of a Mongoloid type are, however, sometimes seen; and Mr. Bodding has observed spots in the pigment of the skin of Santal children, which, in size, position and colour, resemble certain peculiar blue spots found on Mongol children, which are said to be a distinct race-mark not found outside the Mongolian peoples.* He remarks:—"The theory of Mongolian descent is not tenable, but there cannot be any doubt that Mongolian blood has been introduced, either by Santals taking Mongolian wives, or Santal women having illegitimate children by Mongolian men. I have no doubt that a good many of the Aryan types among the present-day Santals are caused by Santal women having illicit intercourse with Aryans. The Santals are not what they were in this respect."

PHYSICAL
CHARAC-
TERISTICS.

In the work of reclaiming land and clearing new jungle the Santals have few equals in India, but, as a rule, they care little for cultivating in flat lowland tracts. A country denuded of forests does not attract them; and, writes Colonel Dalton, "when, through their own labour the spread of cultivation has effected this denudation, they select a new site,

GENERAL
CHARAC-
TERISTICS.

**Mongolian Race-marks among the Santals*, J. A. S. B., 1904, Part III, p. 26.

however prosperous they may have been on the old, and retire into the backwoods, where their harmonious flutes sound sweeter, their drums find deeper echoes, and their bows and arrows may once more be utilized." This roving spirit has now been definitely checked probably owing to the security given by the settlements under Regulation III of 1872 and the Santals in the district cling tenaciously to their lands.

As regards the quality of their cultivation, a few, and those only who live in the vicinity of Hindu agricultural villages, have learnt to take proper care of their lands. For instance, they will not, as a rule, weed or manure their paddy fields. The only bit of land they manure is the *barge*, i.e., a plot of land as a rule adjoining the house-site, where they grow Indian corn. The Santals are gradually becoming better cultivators and they are now cultivating all kinds of vegetables, but they are still somewhat happy-go-lucky in their habits. They love a roaming life with hunting and fishing, with pleasures of sorts and the least possible labour except when the work has in a way become an acquired instinct. The paddy fields and outlying upland fields (called second-class *bari* land) are used only for one crop; from their *barges* they generally gather two; otherwise their fields lie fallow for six to eight months of the year.

It is well known that the Santals excel in the art of clearing jungles and otherwise reclaiming land for cultivation, but as agriculturists they are less expert and still have much to learn. The most primitive (certainly the oldest) of their implements is a wooden bar used for digging out roots, making holes in the ground, and so on. Formerly it was made of hard wood throughout, but now-a-days a flat piece of iron is fixed at one end. Their plough is made of a log bent of wood, with an iron ploughshare fixed in a groove on the front upper portion. The handle may be one of several shapes, and there is a beam whereby the plough is attached to the yoke. They have also a hoe or pick-axe with one narrow or more or less pointed blade. The nearest approach to a spade among them is an implement called a *kudi*. The blade of this implement is slightly curved or concave, and an iron shaft some four inches high is fixed vertically in the middle of one end of it. Through the top of this shaft the handle runs parallel with the blade, being only a very little longer than it. The *kudi* is worked towards, not away from,

the user. All these iron implements are made by semi-hinduaized blacksmiths, but the use of more modern foreign-made implements is now being gradually introduced. To level and carry earth they have a kind of large wooden shovel, called a karha, drawn by bullocks. It consists of a flat wood three to five feet in length, ten to fifteen inches broad, and some three inches thick, tapering towards the edge. A handle is fixed in the middle, and at (or near) each end of the karha a "comb" is cut, *i.e.*, a part of the wood is cut away leaving a big tooth-like projections. The shaft is fixed to the karha at one end with a ring, and the other end terminates in the yoke. Sometimes chains are used in lieu of a shaft. When worked, a man keeps the shovel more or less upright by means of a handle, and the earth is thus dragged along. On reaching the place where the earth is to be deposited, he lets go the handle and the karha automatically turns over forwards, emptying out the earth, and the bullocks then drag the karha back to the starting point. There are several varieties of these "shovels", but the principle on which they worked is the same. There is a similar implement, called raksa, which is used for levelling the surface of a rice-field. This is longer and narrower, and two holes are cut through the wooden board, through which the yoke chains are passed. The argom or clod-crusher, is an implement used for levelling the earth after ploughing or sowing. It is a piece of wood some six to nine feet long and six to eight inches broad and thick. Usually it has a beam to which the yoke is fixed, but sometimes there are two beams and sometimes none at all; in the latter case the chains are run through holes in the wood.*

The Santals are a musical people, one of their favourite instruments being a flute with six holes for stops and one for blowing. Now-a-days these flutes are generally bought from low caste Hindus, but some Santals still know how to make them. They have also some small pipes, made by themselves. Another instrument of their own manufacture is a one-stringed fiddle with a hollow "breast", as they call it, covered with a piece of skin, often of an iguana or some large snake. When playing, the operator keeps it in front of him, with the string turned away. Other varieties of

*Mr. W. G. Lacey, I.C.S., Census Report of Bihar and Orissa 1931, Appendix VI,

stringed instruments include a hollow piece of wood or a pumpkin, covered at one end with a bit of skin through which a double string is run. It is kept in the left arm-pit and the left hand stretches the two strings with a small piece of wood tied to them. It is said to produce a marvellous sound, and its use is confined to the disciples of ojha when they go begging. Similar in tone and employed for the same purpose, is a bamboo instrument (often an old flute) to which pins are affixed, and to these again two strings. At the middle point of the bamboo an empty hollowed-out piece of a pumpkin is tied. When this is played, the pumpkin is held against the stomach and the playing is done with a wooden pin. They have a dancing drum of earthenware, covered at the ends with skin and strengthened with leather thongs running round the body; this drum is conical in shape. Their kettle-drums are many and varied, and some of their other instruments appear to be designed for the sole purpose of producing noise as a means of giving vent to their high spirits. They have cymbals also and a number of wind instruments, including one made from the horn of a buffalo. An interesting point to note is that their flutes and horns are always made in pairs with the same pitch. This serves a double purpose, for if one instrument is lost or stolen the owner is able to identify it, while they have resorted to this practice in their fights with other tribes and people.

Socially, they are a jolly, cheerful people, contented with their lot, so long as they have enough to eat and drink, and to spend on religious and social ceremonies. "As he is unfettered with caste, the Santal enjoys existence in a far greater degree than does his neighbour, the priest-ridden and caste-crushed Hindu. The Santal eats his buffalo-beef, his kids, poultry, pork or pigeons, enjoys a hearty carouse enlivened with the spirit *pachwai*, and dances with his wives and comrades to express his joy and thankfulness."[†] Hard drinking is a peculiar failure of the Santals, who enjoy nothing so much as a carouse; but so far the physique of the race does not seem to be impaired. Their fondness for drink may be gathered from the attitude of an old Manjhi, who asked whether the God of the Christians would allow old people to

[†] W. S. Sherwill, *A Tour through the Rajmahal Hills*, J. A. S. B., 1851.

get drunk twice a week. When he heard the horrified answer of the missionary, he simply replied. "Then teach our boys and girls, but leave us alone." Rice is their chief food, but they are able to live on all sorts of roots and vegetables; when food is scarce, they will have recourse to other fare. They will, for instance, eat two kinds of snake (the *dhamin* and rock-snake), a few kinds of rats, one kind of frog, one lizard, etc. The lizard is considered excellent eating; but the rest are generally only partaken of by children, especially shepherd boys. Though living mostly on vegetables they enjoy animal food when they can get it, and nothing so much as pig curry. Except at certain sacrifices, they never eat cows, bullocks or buffaloes, unless they die from disease or have to be killed because they have broken a leg, etc., or are too old to be used as draught cattle. They rather enjoy chewing the tough meat, but certain kinds of meat they abhor, e.g., horse-flesh.

The Santal's bow is generally made of bamboo, but sometimes of some other resilient wood. As a rule, the string is of hemp, though bamboo is not infrequently used for the purpose. The string is always fixed permanently to one end of the bow; at the other (upper) and it is tied loosely. Here there is a loop, and when the bow is to be used this loop is slipped on to the end. Until this is done, the bow is more or less straight and could not be used. The Santals have a large assortment of arrows, suitable to special different purposes. They are mostly made of sar grass—sar being the Santali word for an arrow. Generally the arrow has cut feathers fixed to its end, which help to steady its flight; an arrow without feathers is called naked. To shoot birds and small animals a blunt arrow is used, with a piece of wood some three inches long fixed to the point. For other animals they employ arrows with iron heads, which vary greatly in size and shape. "I have seen", says Mr. Bodding, "some twenty different arrow heads". One variety, designed for shooting fish, has for its head a curved blade instead of a point. There is also a special kind of bow with which they shoot off, not arrows, but small stones. Of spears they had formerly several kinds, but these are no longer found. Battle-axes of different shapes are still to be seen in a few houses, but they are now used for sacrificial purposes only. The Santals have a number of other hunting implements, fishing nets, etc., all of which go to show that they have

studied the nature and habits of wild animals, birds, and so forth, and have fashioned their implements accordingly. They indulge in a curious practice of keeping certain hairs, claws, etc., of tigers and leopards which they have killed, and even of eating their flesh, in the hope that they will thereby assimilate some of the qualities of these animals. They are not head-hunters, and no case is known in which the distinctive note also serves to advertise the whereabouts of the player. Dancing drums, too, are made in pairs. Mr. Bodding considers that the flute, the horn and the fiddle are probably the original Santal instruments.*

Their food may be divided into two main classes, *viz.*, (1) cereals, prepared as *bhat*, with curry of some kind added, and (2) other food eaten raw or roasted, but without cereals. A list prepared by Mr. Bodding gives the following details:—Cereals (19 kinds) besides a large number of varieties of rice; vegetable curries composed of (a) leguminous plants (14), (b) cultivated vegetables (18) and (c) leaves of wild plants and trees (59); mushrooms (24); resins (10); fruits (wild or cultivated) (65); tubers (25); all domestic animals, except dogs, horses and cats, and wild animals including tigers, leopards, jackals, foxes, five kinds of rats, etc., (30); snakes (2); lizards (1); tortoises and crocodiles (6); birds, with the eggs of every bird eaten (72); fishes (at least 30); wild grains, fruits, etc., eaten during times of scarcity (21); oil-seeds and kernels (16); and the ordinary Indian spices. A gourmand could not wish for more miscellaneous material, and it is not certain that the list is quite complete.

As will be mentioned later, it is probable that the social system of the Santals was originally communistic; and if their traditions are to be believed, they were formerly a self-contained nation having very few social relations with other races. It is possible to trace, even at the present time, a distinct idea among them that a Santal has a right to possess and appropriate any part of nature not previously in the occupation of anybody else. Land is common property till it has been held under a title, or, at least, "trampled round." All forests and forest produce are considered free to all, if they have not been definitely occupied by others. Any wild animal is also lawful prey, but belongs to the man who first

* Mr. W. G. Lacey, I.C.S., Census Report of Bihar and Orissa, 1931, Appendix VI.

wounded it, not to the man who kills it, although the latter and the village headman get portions of the animal as determined by custom. River fish belong to anybody, and if a man dams up a water-course or has a natural pond, he does not enjoy the fish alone, but on some day or other invites the villagers and neighbours to catch all the fish there. They give the owner of the water-course a small share, and the bigger fish are also divided; the idea of public property is thus apparent. This does not of course apply in the case of fish stocked in a tank, a very recent innovation with the Santals. As soon as anyone takes possession of anything with the consent of the village, he is treated as the owner.

It is possible that the same feeling may partially explain the sexual relations of the people. As long as the girls are not owned by anybody, it does not much concern anyone what is done with them or what they do as long as they are not "spoilt." But if they are anybody's property, it is different. If anything goes wrong, it is the male who suffers; the female is regarded more or less as a domestic animal—formerly she might even be killed. It is a curious fact that the adulterer is called a thief in their legal phraseology; further that the people say that in olden times theft was unknown among the people, the only exception being that they might occasionally kill and eat by stealth a stray goat or sheep.

Under such conditions it will easily be understood that the Santals in the old days did not and could not have any regular business transactions among themselves or with outsiders. They did not use money, and did not buy or sell, but bartered. They grew or made or found what they needed. They manufactured their own salt, wove their own cloths, and made their weapons, implements and utensils. If any one wanted a cow or a wife, they were obtained by barter. The old *gurus* say that the Baske sept started a kind of bartering business; and it is curious that to this day a mixed mustard oil, used for culinary purposes, is never called anything else than "barter oil."

As the forests have been thinned and the Santals have come into contact with other races, their circumstances have greatly altered. They have got money, and now understand its value. It may almost be said that up till the beginning of the twentieth century they knew the worth of a pice, but not of a rupee. They hanker after the fineries of others, and will give away their substance to obtain them. Under

the influence of Hindu caste ideas they are gradually developing into a kind of cultivator caste, whose real occupation is agriculture of an inferior kind, and whose leisure time is spent in idleness. There is no doubt that the Santals are not as yet equipped to take up the struggle with outsiders; if they are not helped, they will go to the wall. Their ideals are in the past, not in the future; and another great drawback is that they are liable to hopelessness as to their future as a people. But let them see a thing succeed, and they are quick enough to adopt it. The Santals are at the same time rigid formalists. They do not go outside the old forms and regard any omission or aberration therefrom as serious faults. This love of ceremonial formalism is another obstacle to their development. As to personal characteristics, the Santals are easy-going and, on the whole, easily contented. The most frequent causes of strife are, on the one hand, land disputes and sexual relations, and, on the other, their belief in witchcraft. The men are more peaceable than the women, who, besides having a quicker wit and a more fluent tongue, know very well that if a man complains against his wife, he has to pay any fine that may be imposed.

Generally speaking the Santals, with their reckless gaiety, their bluntness and simple honesty, and their undoubted zest for all out-door amusements and particularly for hunting, are a very attractive race to an officer accustomed to deal with other races in Bihar. They are, on the whole, truthful, law-abiding and honest people; their word is their bond, and a knot on a string is as good as a receipt. Their manners are straightforward, simple and independent, and the women in particular show a certain native freedom, without, however, being bold or brazen. An amusing instance of this freedom has been quoted. On every market day a number of Santal women used to frequent the garden of a former Assistant Commissioner, plucking his flowers and making themselves quite at home. They would then walk into his house and deck themselves before the looking-glass in his dressing-room, thinking no evil and fearing none. The Santals are, however, not industrious, and if anything contrary to custom and habit is required, or if they suspect that evil spirits are at work, they do not display much endurance. Cases, for instance, are known of people attacked by fever dying in a very short time through fear. Their food and exposed life may account for much, but it seems

to be a fact that they have not the power of resisting disease that Europeans possess, and old people are comparatively few.

The Santals have a large number of different dances DANCES. and, with two or three exceptions, these are very decent to look at; but excluding a couple of war-dances, the associations of the dance are always doubtful. Except at festivals they never dance during the daytime, but at night; and the dances give the two sexes an opportunity for illicit intercourse. In the Santal mind, therefore, dancing is always associated with sensuality. "It often happens," writes Mr. Boddington, "that Europeans who have no idea of this, and who enjoy the plastic movements of the people, call for Santals to dance before them. I believe it would be wise to leave this item out of entertainments, because the people, as a matter of fact, draw the conclusion that, when a European wants to have such an exhibition, the cause is that he has inclinations in the same direction as the Santals. This does not advance the British prestige. To give another example. It has been customary at a certain *mela* to have races for Santal women. With the way in which a Santal woman puts on her cloth it is unavoidable that when running she is partially uncovered. I have heard of a case where the husband divorced his wife because at such a *mela* she exposed herself running and ran against his special wish."

The tradition of the Santals is that the parents of mankind were Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Budhi, who sprung from two eggs laid by a wild gander and goose. *Pilchu*, it may be explained, means "original;" *haram*, an old or elderly man, or a married man; and *budhi*, an old woman or a married woman; while *haram budhi* is used to denote a married couple, or a pair living together as husband and wife, except those recently married. The traditional names do not mean more than that the human race sprung from one pair, hatched from two eggs laid by a pair of swans or geese. *Hans* is the name for the gander, *hasil* for the goose; but the words, which are of Aryan origin, may also mean swans. This first pair had seven boys and seven girls; the names of about half of these are mentioned in the traditions, and are also probably of Aryan origin. When they are married and had children, the seven parents (and the grand-parents) decided that henceforth brothers and sisters should not marry. They

INTERNAL
STRUC-
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therefore divided themselves into seven exogamous septs, called (1) Hansdak, (2) Murmu, (3) Kisku, (4) Membrom, (5) Marndi, (6) Saren and (7) Tudu. When the first race was exterminated in Khoj-kaman, only one righteous pair being saved in the cave of Harata, the new race which sprang from this pair was again divided into seven exogamous septs with the same names as the original septs, to which five more were added, viz., Baske, Besra, Pauria, Chore and Bedea: the last sept has been lost. These names are all sept names, not *nomina propria*.

There is a diffuse kind of traditional story relating how the sept names were given after a big hunt, but they are really totemistic in origin. Each sept (*paris*) has a password peculiar to itself and is divided into a number of sub-septs (*khunt*). No Santal may marry within his father's sept or any of its sub-septs, or into his mother's sub-sept; but he may marry into her sept, a Santal proverb saying—"No one heeds a cow track or his mother's sept." The passwords, which specially belong to the original septs (*nij-Hansdak*, *nij-Murmu*, etc.) and frequently are unknown to other sub-septs, are generally names of ancestors, chiefs or other important persons or places, forts, etc. They refer to places and persons in Champa, and are thus of no very great antiquity.

COMMUNAL
SYSTEM.

The basis of the Santal communal system is the village. A Santal will never settle alone in an uncultivated area; when they have found a place, which by a curious mixture of common sense and superstition (*e.g.*, omens) they judge to be good, they go there in a body and settle with a leader and his assistants. The first leader becomes the village headman, the others his subordinate officers. The village headman (*manjhi*) is *primus inter pares*, being chosen by the village people to administer the rights, rules and ceremonies of the Santal village community. No public sacrifice, no festival, no ceremony, such as a marriage—in short, nothing of a public character—can be properly done without the *manjhi* participating or taking the initiative. If a village has got a headman of another race as a *pradhan*, the Santal will have for themselves an official called *handi manjhi*, *i.e.*, literally a "liquor chief," who performs all the duties of a Santal village chief except collecting rent and doing work demanded by Government or landlord. Everything of a ceremonial kind is ratified by *handi*.

The headman is the representative of the village both in its external and internal relations. For his trouble he gets the honour of the post and some material advantages, which formerly included rent-free land, certain portions of the animals killed in sacrifice, etc. If there is anything affecting the village interests, he calls the villagers together to discuss and settle it; or he may summon them to sit in judgment if a villager has complained to him. The village is here represented by the *more hor* (literally five men), a term which probably originally signified the headman and the four other village officials, but now always includes any adult male belonging to the village. They try as far as possible to settle all internal disputes, and it is considered very "bad form" for anybody to take a case outside the village boundary. With proper control the system works well; for though the Santals take an unconscionably long time over a case, they end as a rule in doing justice.

If there is any dispute with anyone belonging to another village, the people of both villages meet together and try to decide the case. If they cannot manage to do this, or if one or both of the parties are dissatisfied, they can, or rather could, appeal to the *pargana*, who is the head of a number of villages and generally also a village headman. When he sits in full bench to do judgment, his *panchayat* consists of the village headmen of his circle and other influential men in the neighbourhood—in fact, any male adult belonging to the place may be present. The *pargana* pronounces judgment, as also does the *manjhi*, but they will not, as a rule, do so without first being sure of having a majority for their verdict. As the *manjhi* has an assistant in the village, so the *pargana* has an assistant in his circle called the *des-manjhi*. The traditional perquisites of a *pargana* are one rupee, half a seer of *ghi* and four scores of Indian-corn cobs annually from each village under him; those of the *des-manjhi* half this amount. Both have, as a matter of duty, to give a feast to the village chiefs when these things are paid to them. The village *panchayat* system works very well among the Santals; the same cannot be said about the *parganas*, many of whom abuse their position.

Above the village headman and the *parganas* are the people themselves. During the hot weather the Santals have big hunts, in which every male who can possibly get away will try to participate. The convener of the hunt is called

dihri, a Paharia word used by them for priest.* The *dihri* is a common Santal who acts as the priest, scarificer and master of the hunt. He sends round word by means of a *sal* branch, notifying the date and place of the hunt and also the place where the people are to spend the night. They reach this spot at sunset, after the hunt is over, cook their food, etc., and then take up, under the presidency of the *dihri*, any matter which may be brought before the people in council assembled. Here the *manjhis* and *parganas* are, if necessary, brought to justice; and if any one has to be excommunicated, his case is dealt with. Any matters, great or small, may be brought forward by anyone; if a case cannot be finally decided, it is kept in abeyance till next year's hunt.

The people themselves are the final authority; the officials are only their representatives appointed to perform certain duties, to keep order and to represent them generally. Custom has made these positions practically hereditary, and has also established a kind of ownership in land. But there are many traces of the communal system, of which two may be mentioned. In Magh (January-February) the village people gather together after a sacrifice; the headman, taking the lead, resigns his post to the village people; all the other officials also resign their posts to one another as representing the village, and the villagers surrender their land to the headman, saying that they will keep only their old house-sites and their huts—a figurative expression for their wives and their own bodies, connoting personal freedom. After a few days everything is *pro forma* given and taken back again. Again, if a man leaves his village, he cannot, for instance, sell his house, for the timber of it belongs to the village; he cannot sell his land to outsiders, for it has to be taken up by a fellow-villager.

In the Damin-i-koh the *parganas* (also called *parganaitis*, though the latter is not a Santali word) have an official position, the area within the jurisdiction of each forming the administrative unit or revenue division known as a "Bungalow." They are appointed by Government and exercise the powers of a Sub-Inspector of Police. They are generally responsible for the good behaviour of the *manjhis*

*Cf. the Khon *dehuri*. This is a curious resemblance, and it is not the only one. A sub-sept of the Santals, called Buru-beret-Marndi, have a peculiar sub-sept sacrifice, which has many points of resemblance with the old Khond human sacrifice, but the Santals sacrifice a cock.

or village headmen within their respective Bungalow areas and for the punctual payment of rent to Government by the village headmen. For this they were formerly remunerated by a commission of 2 per cent on the collections of the *manjhis* subordinate to them. This rate of commission has been enhanced as below, with effect from 1924-25 and is payable to the *parganait* when the rent for the whole Bungalow is fully collected :—

	Rs.
5 per cent for the first	2,000
4 per cent for the second	2,000
3 per cent for the third	2,000

and 2 per cent for all further collections.

They are also bound to see that crimes are reported and that roads, embankments, boundary pillars and staging Bungalows are kept in proper repair. Under them, in the Damin-i-koh, are *des-manjhis*, who are their assistants, and *chakladars*, who act as their messengers. Outside the Damin-i-koh there are no *parganas* (*parganait*s) except in Ambar and Sultanabad in the Pakaur subdivision. Regarding these *parganait*s, Mr. Allanson writes " Unlike the adjoining Damin-i-koh Estate, these *parganas* are under the jurisdiction of the ordinary police. The Damin *parganait*s and *manjhis* have well defined police duties. But the *parganait*s of Ambar and Sultanabad have no longer any place in the district administration, though no doubt their important position as heads of the Santal tribal organisation enables them to be used by local officers as the official representatives of their community, as presidents of *panchayats* or arbitrations, or as an enquiring and reporting agency in petty disputes. The *parganait* is a tribal head of a group of villages, and no doubt wherever Santal villages are found, the *parganait* is a necessary element in their social life. But ordinarily outside the Damin, the settlement records of Santal tracts contain no reference to the *parganait*. But in these two *parganas*, even the serial arrangement of villages is based on *parganait* jurisdiction ". Each headman pays annually Rs. 1-12-0 for the *parganait*s, annas 14 for the *des-manjhi* (*parganait*'s assistant) and annas 7 for the *chakladar* (messenger). In the non-police tract of Dumka and Jamtara there are *sardars* under Regulation IV of 1910 who exercise powers of officers in charge of police-station within their respective circles. In the police tracts of Godda and Rajmahal, there are *sardars*

under the thana officers, but they have no powers like the non-police tract *sardars* of Dumka and Jamtara. They are middlemen between the village headmen and the thana officers. In the Deoghar subdivision, the Ghatwals under Regulation XXIX of 1814 are bound to perform the duties of the *sardars*.

The *manjhi* is also recognized officially. He is not only the fiscal head of the village collecting the rents but is its police officer, being bound to report crimes. Through him the villagers, as a body, deal with the proprietor, the latter being merely a rent-receiver, who has properly no part in the internal economy of the village, though he frequently makes his proprietary rights felt. In virtue of his office the *manjhi* is, in the Damin-i-koh, given by Government a commission of 8 per cent of the collections, while in the zamindari estates he retains $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of them, viz., one anna in the rupee from the ryots and another from the zamindar. He is appointed by the Deputy Commissioner with the consent of the villagers and may be dismissed by him for misconduct; otherwise the office is by custom hereditary, descending from father to son, except where the son is palpably unfit. According to the Santal institutions, the *manjhi* is chosen by the villagers, and if they are dissatisfied they can get him dismissed and another man installed. At the present day the Deputy Commissioner has the right to appoint and dismiss; but it is only in exceptional cases that he will act counter to the wishes of the village people.

The headman is not always known simply as a *manjhi*, but also as *pradhan* and *mustajir*. These three names are due to a difference of origin. The *manjhi* was the head ryot of an aboriginal or semi-aboriginal community, who had social as well as official functions to perform. The *mustajir* was the person to whom a proprietor leased a cultivated village or a piece of jungle for reclamation on *ijara* or *thika*, i.e., at a rent fixed for a term of years with the right to collect what he could from the ryots. Such a *mustajir* might be foreign to the rest of community or be an ordinary aboriginal headman. The title *pradhan* is a modern one used for all village headmen in the settlement records.

In his official capacity the *manjhi* is assisted by a sub-headman called a *paranik*, the Santal form of *paramanik*. The *paranik* is the principal assistant and representative of the *manjhi*, by whom he is originally chosen, i.e., when a village is founded. If the *manjhi* should abscond or die

having no male issue or brothers in the village, the old rule is that the *paranik* should be *manjhi*. In his social functions the *manjhi* is assisted by the *jog-manjhi*, who acts as *custos morum* to the young people of the village, as the name implies, *jog* being of Sanskrit derivation and meaning practically *mores*. His duty is not to prevent sexual intercourse between the two sexes when unmarried (except when they are non-marrigeable relatives), but to see that no scandal arises. If a girl becomes pregnant, the *jog-manjhi* has to find out who is responsible. If he does not, the village people take him to the *manjhi's* cow-shed and tie him with a buffalo's rope to a pole, scold him and also fine him. If he knows the young man, he brings him before the *panchayat*, who will deal with the culprit. During the *Sohra* festival the village boys and girls live for five days and nights with the *jog-manjhi*, who is responsible for their behaviour. At the birth of a child and at marriages he is master of the ceremonies; he is also in a way responsible when the village youths attend certain night festivals which are always accompanied by revelry. Formerly the *jog-manjhi* was stricter and had a very important position in the village. Now-a-days he has less authority, but the young people still use him as a safe depository of their secrets. If a girl has a liaison, she may, as a precaution, tell the *jog-manjhi* of it in confidence and give him *handi* to purchase his silence. The young men also try to bribe him. The *jog-manjhi* has an assistant called *jog-paranik*, who officiates when he is absent.

The last secular village official is the *gorait*, or as he is styled by the Santals the *godet* who acts as the *manjhi's* orderly, calls the villagers together at his command, and also collects sacrificial fowls for the village sacrifices. The *godet* has a peculiar reputation among the Santals, because he is prone to misuse his position for his own benefit. They call him *marang manjhi*, i.e., the great chief, and there are many instances of *godets* having ousted a *manjhi* or even a *pargana*. If a *paranik* becomes *manjhi*, it is considered proper that the *godet* should become *paranik*. The *næke* is the village priest who performs all the public sacrifices to the national godlings; and the *kudam næke* (*kudam* means the back of a thing) is a subsidiary officer. Whenever the *næke* performs a sacrifice, the *kudam næke* has to offer rice dipped in his own blood (drawn by pricking with a thorn) to Pargana Bonga and the boundary *bongas*. He does the same when the villagers go hunting, in order to bring them luck and to ensure

their safe return. This double set of village priests may perhaps point to different origin.

Every village official formerly held some land rent-free (*man*), its area varying with the importance of the official and the size of the village. The *manjhi* had four shares, the *paranik* three shares, the *jog-manjhi* two shares, and all others one share. The *manjhi's* *man* land was originally half a *rek* of rice land with a corresponding amount of higher land, about sufficient for one plough. It has now been assessed to rent, but is held by the *pradhan* as such, *i.e.*, by virtue of his position. When a man ceases to be *manjhi* it passes to his successor, not his heirs. The *man* land is now a kind of security for the zamindar, ensuring the realization of his rents.

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its.

The *panchayat* or committee of village elders is a cherished institution among the Santals. The indigenous officials of a Santal village described above are *ex-officio* members of the *panchayat*; and every village has its council place (the *manjhi than*) where they assemble to discuss the affairs of the village and its inhabitants. All petty disputes, both of a civil and criminal nature, are settled there, but if the matter to be settled is of an immoral and shameful character, they go to the end of the village street or some other convenient place where they need not fear hurting the feelings of their womenkind. Those that are of too weighty a nature to be decided by the village assembly are referred to a *panchayat* consisting of five neighbouring *manjhis* under the control of the *parganait*. If this special council is unable to decide any matter, it is brought to the notice of a Government officer, but this is not the old custom. The *panchayat* also disposes of all disputed social questions, such as disputes about marriage and inheritance, and punishes the guilty. This system of self-government constitutes a fair bond of union amongst the Santals, who look with great suspicion on any measure calculated to destroy it.

TOAST-
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For the excommunication of a man from Santal society formal outcasting which the Santal call *bitlaha* is necessary, and the act can only be performed by order of the people in council assembled. Outcasting is resorted to for breaches of either the endogamous or the exogamous law of the people, *i.e.*, for sexual intercourse with a non-Santal or with a relative whom Santal law has placed in the prohibitory table of kindred and affinity. If any one commits such an offence, the chief of the village in question calls his neighbouring colleagues together and informs them. If the charge is

believed to be true, they warn the people of their respective villages not to eat or drink with the offenders and not to enter into marriage relations with them. The villagers cannot proceed further, and nothing more is done till the annual national hunt takes place in the hot weather. Here the matter is brought forward; if the people hold that the case is not proved, those who started the rumour are very severely punished. If it is proved, the people's assembly gives an order for outcasting, and they proceed to carry it out the day after the hunt. The *pargana* of the district and some other influential man are generally commissioned to superintend the operations, which are as follows.

In the early morning the males meet with flutes, drums, bows and arrows a short way beyond the end of the village street where the man lives. The young men compose extempore obscene songs in which he is mentioned by name and his sin satirically dilated on, while drumming is kept up so loudly that the din is heard for miles around. At a sign from the leader, the crowd with wild yells and uplifted hands, holding a bow or some other article, rush to the village drumming and blowing their flutes and singing obscene songs as they enter the street. If, however, the headman of the village meets the people at the street entrance with water in a *lota*, the people will stop singing. When they reach the house of the offender, they take a pole, bamboo or the like, to which they have tied a short charred bit of firewood, a worn-out broom and some used up leaf-plates, and fix it at the entrance to the courtyard. In the courtyard the people break the fireplaces, pots, etc., while the young men strip and commit nuisance in and round about the house; one case is known in which it was upwards of two weeks before the place dried up properly. The scene is utterly revolting; so all women take good care to be outside the village when it takes place. The Santals are apt to carry these bitlaha operations to excess. This was evident from some recent cases in Godda subdivision. These cases require vigilance and prompt action on the part of Government officers.

The persons outcasted are debarred from eating with others, and especially from getting their children married, and have to suffer a good deal, but not so much as might be expected. In addition to the offenders themselves, the parents on both sides should be outcasted; and if anyone receives the outcastes in his house, the whole household will suffer in the same way. The villagers have also to a certain

extent to suffer with the outcasted ones, and therefore harass them in many ways so as to make them either run away or take steps to be taken into society again. Persons outcasted because they have had sexual intercourse with people of another race are not taken into society again, but leave the village. If relatives within the prohibited degrees have sexual intercourse, they will generally if they fear detection, clear out before outcasting takes place and settle in a place where they are not known. This usually happens with people who have little property; most outcasted people who remain in their homes are well-to-do. Only the well-to-do can afford the luxury of being taken into society again. This is done by an act called *jam jati* (literally eating so as to give *jat*, i.e., eating one's way back to the race). The procedure is as follows:—

The outcaste first gives up his old ways—this is a *sine qua non*—then he provides the necessary funds. When he knows he has sufficient, he tells the *manjhi*, who again informs the *pargana* of the district, and the latter makes it known to the *parganas* of twelve other districts, i.e., virtually the whole country-side. A day is fixed for the ceremony, and the person who is to be readmitted prepares for a big feast. When everything is ready, the outcasted man goes out to the end of the village street with a twisted cloth round his neck (to show symbolically that he is willing to be led) and water in a *lota*; he must look very miserable and downcast. The most venerable *pargana* present says to his colleagues and the village chiefs: “Come, let us comfort him; it is a pity to see him.” He then leads them to the repentant sinner, who says: “Father, I have sinned grievously; I acknowledge my transgression. Have pity on me.” The venerable *pargana*—formerly it was the privilege of a man of the Murmu sept—takes the *lota* from the hands of the man, worships (i.e., bows to) the sun, and says to the outcaste: “Since you have acknowledged your transgression, we do now take and carry all that for you.” He then takes a little of the water and rinses his mouth with it, and passes the *lota* round to all the leading men, who do the same.

After this they enter the village and the courtyard of the outcaste who personally washes the feet of the leaders of the people. All then sit down in rows to eat, leaf plates being put before them; the outcaste serves them all personally, gives them rice and curry, and puts five rupees on the plate of every *pargana* and on that of the *manjhi* of the village,

and one rupee on the plate of every other *manjhi*. After the feast the old *pargana* says: "From to-day we have taken this man into our society again; all pollution has been washed away. From to-day we shall drink a cup of water of his; we shall also smoke his tobacco pipe; we shall give him our daughters in marriage and also take his daughters for our sons; we have made everything clear and pure as percolated river water and spring water. If after to-day anyone talks about this matter or speaks evil, we shall fine him a hundred rupees and a feast for a hundred more." Thereupon they dig a small hole, in which they bury a lump of cow-dung and put a stone on top, thereby symbolizing that the matter is buried for ever. Thus the man becomes a Santal again.

The Santal village consists, as a rule, of a long straggling street with houses on either side. A village has also very frequently some *tolas* or hamlets, which are practically small separate villages, but all are under one *manjhi*, though the *paranik* will live in his separate *tola*. The dwelling-houses are built in several ways. The old way is to bring nine poles and fix them in the ground, three at either side of the site selected and three in the middle to support the roof. The roof is made with rafters of *sal* wood, over which bamboo saplings, climbers, etc., are tied, the whole being thatched with jungle-grass. Then the walls are made by fixing thin poles of any suitable material in the ground, tying them with cross saplings, finishing the whole off with a plaster of clay and cow-dung, and glossing it over with white earth. The roof of this kind of houses is two-sided; another kind of roof is four-sided, in which case there are only two central poles. The sept and sub-sept to which a man belongs determine whether one or other of these two kinds of roof is used for the dwelling-houses that have a *bhitar*. If there is no *bhitar*, any roof will do. Now-a-days the walls are frequently made of mud dried in the sun, and well-to-do Santals often build houses of a better kind, like those they see built by prosperous members of other races.

Inside every dwelling-house a Santal partitions off with a low wall a small compartment in one corner; this is the so-called *bhitar* the place where the ancestors are worshipped and also the *orak bonga*. Only certain persons outside the family are permitted to enter this place, and never any women other than those belonging to the house. In front of the house the caves of the roof are generally elongated so

as to form a kind of verandah. Well-to-do people, as a rule, have in front a partially walled-in verandah, which sometimes runs round the two sides. The floor of the house is always more or less raised above the ground, the space being filled up with earth firmly beaten down. Every house has one door, generally low but with a comparatively broad opening. The door itself is made, like the walls, of wattle and daub, and is tied with loops to the door-post on which it swings. It is seldom that a lock is used; generally the door is shut with a wooden bar. If the inmates go away for some time, they affix a thorn branch to the door. More modern houses have door-frames with wooden doors and padlocks.

The verandah is a receptacle for all kinds of miscellaneous articles. Here too the Santals generally keep their *dhenki* (rice-husker) and their hand mill (*jante*)—at least till they have some other house to set them up in. Inside the house itself they keep their paddy and other cereals, packed either in straw bundles (called *bandi*) or in gourdes or earthenware pots, as well as their clothes and valuables. Generally the fireplace (made of earth, with one or more openings) is also here. Except when it is cold or raining, they do not live much inside the house; it is not pleasant, being filled with smoke and dark, as it has no window, but only one or two tiny smoke-holes. When it is cold, however, they seem to enjoy being smoked. The food is preferably prepared and also eaten inside, to ensure safety from the evil eye and other dangers. It is customary, especially in the modern mud-walled houses, to have a kind of narrow platform running round the sides and back of the house, which serves to strengthen the foundation. People may sit on this ledge; otherwise, one part of it is used for putting water-pots on. The latter are always kept outside, either here, or on a special structure (formerly always of wood) put up somewhere in the courtyard.

As soon as convenient and necessary, a Santal will build one or more other houses round a square courtyard, which all the houses face, the only exception being the pig-sty, which is situated at the side or back of the houses and often has its door to the village street. A Santal door never opens direct on the village street though it may face it, but then there is the courtyard between the house and the street. The second house erected is usually a cowshed, built in the same way as a dwelling-house, but frequently without solid walls.

On the third side may come a house, with or without a *bhitar*, which is used for general purposes, as a kitchen, a married son's quarters, etc. On the fourth side there may be a second cowshed or goatshed, or a dwelling-house. Finally a kind of wall may be put up joining the several houses, with an entrance from the street and an exit towards the fields, but this is considered advanced civilization. The courtyard is kept clean by smearing it with cow-dung. In the middle a pigeon-shed is frequently erected. It should be remarked that a Santal often changes his dwelling-house site. If members of the family suffer much from fever or die from some infectious disease, it often happens that he gives up his old house altogether and builds a new one in some other place in the village, or moves away to some other village.

In the main street is the *manjhithan*, which consists of a small mud mound, with a thatched roof over it, which is supported by five posts, one in the centre and four at each corner. Occasionally the *manjhithan* is built with mud walls; and in some villages there is only a small mud mound with a central post. The latter seems to be indispensable. At the foot of the central post is a stone or roughly carved piece of wood, which is sacred to the spirits of former *manjhis*, more especially the spirit of the first *manjhi*, although the Santals' ideas on the subject seem to make it possible to infer that it is the spirit of the *manjhiship* in general. Frequently a second stone or head is seen beside the principal one; this is said to represent the wife of the old *manjhi*, and some say the one is for Pilchu Haram, (probably the original *manjhi*), the other for Manjhi Haram. From the roof is suspended an earthen pot containing water for the spirits to drink. Here sacrifices are offered by the villagers, and here, as already mentioned, the elders meet to discuss village affairs and settle disputes.

On the outskirts of the village is the *jaher* or sacred grove. It should consist of trees belonging to the primeval forest, and a cluster of trees is always permitted to stand round it; but only five trees are essential, viz., four *sal* trees and one *mahua* tree. Three of the *sal* trees must stand in one row; at the foot of each tree is one stone for each of the following gods:—Jaherera (the lady of the grove), Moreko and Marang Buru. A fourth *sal* tree standing anywhere near has a stone for the Pargana Bonga, and at the foot of a *mahua* tree is a stone for the Gosainera. The stones are said to be

put in their places at the command of the gods themselves, who speak by the mouths of persons who are possessed by them for the purpose. This is done at the foundation of a village, or when, as may happen though very seldom, the villagers for some reason give up the old and establish a new *jaher*. The gods of the *jaher* are national deities worshipped by all Santals; and the sacrifices are performed by the village *næke*.

MYTHO-
LOGY.

The Santal's tradition about the creation of the world and the origin of mankind is as follows. In the beginning there was only water, and below the water earth. Thakur Jiu created certain animals and fishes and then decided to create man. He made a pair of earth, but when he was going to give them souls the Day horse came and kicked them to pieces. Thereupon Thakur decided first to make birds, and made the goose and the gander. He took them in his hands, and they looked most beautiful. So he breathed on them, and they became living beings and flew up into the air, but as they could nowhere find a resting place they came back and settled on Thakur's hand. Then the Day-horse came down along a gossamer thread to drink water; whilst he was doing this, some froth fell down from his mouth. It became foam, and the goose and the gander went along, using it as a boat. Then they implored Thakur to give them food, and he called successively on several animals (the alligator, the prawn, the *boar* fish and the crab) to bring up earth; but none of them succeeded, for the earth melted. Finally he called for the earthworm, who promised to do what was wanted if only the tortoise would stand on the water. This having been agreed to, the worm placed one end of his body on the back of the tortoise, and putting his mouth down started eating earth, which came out at the other end and settled on the back of the tortoise. Thakur harrowed this deposit, and from the earth thus coagulated mountains were formed. The foam above mentioned fastened itself to the earth, and in it Thakur sowed the seed of *sirom* (*Andropogon muricatus*) and other kinds of seeds.

The two birds made their nest in the *sirom*, and the goose laid two eggs, on which she sat whilst the gander brought her food. In the end a pair of human beings were hatched. Thakur now ordered the goose and gander to soak a piece of cotton, which he gave them, in their own food and press it out in the mouths of the children. In this way they were reared. When they grew big the birds did not know where

to put them. Thakur ordered them to find a place; whereupon they found Hihiri-pipiri towards the west and took them there. There they grew up eating the seeds of the *sumtu bukuch* (*Eleusine ægyptica*, Pers.) and *sama* (*Panicum colonum*, L.). They were naked, but not ashamed and lived in great happiness. One day Lita came to them, announced himself as their grandfather, and expressed his pleasure at finding them so happy. Still there was one great joy which they had not experienced; so he taught them to ferment liquor and to brew rice-beer. When all was ready, Lita said they should make a libation to Marang Buru and then drink. They did so, drank, became intoxicated and had intercourse with one another. The following morning Lita came and called out to them; but now their eyes were opened, they saw that they were naked and would not come out. Later on they made shirts of fig (*Ficus indica*) leaves to cover their nakedness.

The conception of the Creator (Thakur Jiu) in the mind of the modern Santal appears to be that of a kind of bird. Thakur is undoubtedly the same word as *thakkura* found in very late Sanskrit, and the Santal have probably borrowed the name from the Aryans. It is a custom of theirs to avoid, as much as possible, mentioning anybody's proper name, and they may have used this one to cover an older, now forgotten, name. A curious addition to the name of the Creator is Jiu, which means spirit. Lita is, according to the traditions, the real name of Marang Buru, and is preserved in the word *lita-ak*, meaning the rainbow.

The Santals account for the division of mankind into different communities by a story that all men were brothers until Marang Buru created dissension among them. He arranged a race in which different representatives of mankind competed for the prizes he offered. The first prize was a large supply of cooked beef, the others were neither so large nor so good, and the last consisted of a little rice and milk. The strongest and swiftest runners carried off the beef and were the ancestors of the Santals; the hindmost, who got only the rice and milk, were Brahmans. This division of mankind into different races took place in Sasanbeda. The traditions, if we are to judge from the expressions used, mix up the division of the human race into nations and of the ancestors of the Santals into septs.

The basis of the Santal religion is the belief that there are a number of *bongas* or evil spirits to whom the ills of

RELIGION.

human life are due, and that they must be appeased by blood offerings. Thakur, the supreme being and creator, however, is considered good. He gives rain and crops, etc., and is supposed to be well pleased with the Santals as a general rule; it is only in times of famine that they are afraid that he is angry. But because he is good, it is not necessary to propitiate him. The Santals all acknowledge that in the old days they had no *bongas* but worshipped Thakur alone, and picked up their belief in *bongas* during their wanderings. They now frequently confuse the sun (Chando) with Thakur, but, says an old *guru*: "Thakur is different; he cannot be seen by mortal eye, but himself sees everything. He has created every being and everything; he sustains everything, and he feeds us all. It is he who brings us here, and he also takes us away. At the will of a *bonga* or man we are not born, neither do we depart. Thakur has given us a certain span of life; so long as that lasts, nobody can take us away. According to our lives here, either good or bad, such will be our lot at his command when we go to the other world." Although, however, Thakur is now often confused with the sun, it is admitted that he is not a *bonga*, as Chando the sun-god is. Thakur is still invoked by the Santal on certain occasions, especially in their most solemn oaths, which are administered at the annual hunt, when the people have not been able to decide who is the rightful owner of any animal. Two arrows belonging to the contending parties are stuck in the ground by the *dihri*, who invokes Thakur, saying: "Baba Thakur of heaven, by thy grace we passed judgment, but these two were not satisfied. Thou fillest the whole heaven, Oh Thakur Father! As the judgment did not stand, we the people are without guilt. Now thou knowest the case of these two; do thou pronounce judgment!" The *dihri* then orders the two men to bow to the Day-god and each take up his arrow, saying—"We are not responsible. Now each of you take up his arrow. Do not fear us, but fear Thakur." The words *Chando bonga samanre* are used in the law courts as an oath, but it is doubtful if it is a genuine Santal oath, which generally has some symbolic action connected with it.

All the *bongas* except Chando Bonga are considered evil and have to be appeased with sacrifices of any of the following animals—fowl, sheep, goats or buffaloes—the selection depending on the particular sept and *bonga*. The sacrificial animal must be an uncastrated male or a virgin female, which has not had young or laid eggs, and the crucial

part of the sacrifice is the giving of blood (*i.e.*, life). Those evil spirits which are common to all the Santals—their national gods—are supposed to reside in the *jaherthan* or sacred grove, where their shrines consist merely of stones at the foot of *sal* trees. Here they are propitiated by the men of the village, the sacrifices being performed by the village priest called *næke* and by his assistant *kudam næke*. The former officiates at all the festivals, while the duty of the latter is to appease the *pargana bongas* and boundary *bongas* by scratching his arms till they bleed, mixing the blood with rice and placing it in spots haunted by the demons.

The Santals have a vague idea of life in a future world, called Hanapuri, in which they locate both a heaven and a hell, the name meaning literally “that world,” as opposed to Noapuri or “this world”. Their ideas about their state in the future world are rather confused, but apparently they believe that in heaven the good Santal will live at his ease for ever, enjoying the tillage of his land, hunting, eating and drinking. Their conceptions about hell, and the punishments inflicted there, are curious. Whatever has been a man's besetting sin in this world, he will be eager to commit in the next, but without being able to gratify his desire. Those who have been addicted to stealing meat will have to walk about all day with some rotten meat on their heads; they inhale the horrid smell, but cannot eat. Those who die without paying their debts will be called upon to pay them there; as they have nothing to pay with, they will have their backs flayed and salt rubbed into the sore. Their hell is sometimes also called *ich-kund*, which means literally “excrement heap,” or *narak kund*, *i.e.*, a place where wicked people have to live deep in night-soil. The spirits grind the bones of the dead, from which the bodies of children are formed. Men, however, can escape this task if they say they are preparing tobacco for chewing, and women if they are nursing babies. The entry of the spirits of the dead into the spirit world is facilitated and their comfort secured, if a man's left arm has marks burnt on it between the elbow and the wrist, and in the case of a female if her arms and chest are tattooed. It is said that if they have no *sika* (brand mark), a caterpillar as big as a log of wood will be plunged into their bosom in the other world. The *sika* is a national emblem with the Santals, and the story sounds as if it had been invented to encourage the youngsters to stand the pain of getting the *sika*.

The belief of the Santals in a future life, where virtue meets with its due reward and the wicked are appropriately punished, is recorded elsewhere. But, says Mr. Boddington, one may sometimes hear a Santal speculate whether he will become a lizard or a grass-hopper after death, and there are tales extant among them which presuppose a belief that the soul of a living man may issue through his mouth in the shape of a small lizard. Notwithstanding such curious aberrations as these, Mr. Boddington is of opinion that the Santals have no real belief in transmigration.*

The head of the Santal pantheon is Marang Buru. *Buru* means a mountain, but as every mountain is supposed to be the residence of some spirit, the word has come to be applied to a spirit. Thus, Marang Buru means great mountain, but is used as a *nomen appellativum* for the spirit of it : his real name, according to tradition, is Lita. The Santals have a curious legend about him, somewhat like the account of the fall of the angels. They say that formerly all the *bongas* were the *godets* of God, *i.e.*, his messengers. One day some of them said. " We are doing all the work ; we want to have the power also." They tried to fight God, with the result that they were driven away from Thakur. They then came and settled down on all the hills and other places on earth. Their leader was Marang Buru ; and now they are evil spirits, the enemies of God and man, held in great fear but also in contempt.

Other popular deities are Moreko Turuiko (literally the five-six), who is worshipped as one deity but is addressed in the plural, Jaherera the goddess of the sacred grove, Gosainera, Pargana Bonga, who have power over witches, and Manjhis Bonga, *i.e.*, the spirits of dead *manjhis*. All are malignant and destructive spirits with ill-defined attributes; all are worshipped in public in the sacred grove or near some water; and in all cases there is no worship without sacrifice. Marang Buru is also worshipped privately in the family and Manjhi Bonga at the *manjhithan*. Here the village priest smears red paint on the block of wood or stone in its centre and makes a libation of the home-brewed beer called *handi*. A fowl and a goat are beheaded, and their flesh is eaten by the villagers. There are also boundary gods called Sima Bonga, which are propitiated twice a year at times of sowing

*Mr. W. G. Lacey, I.C.S., Census Report of Bihar and Orissa, 1931, Appendix VI.

and reaping, when sacrifices of fowls are offered at the village boundary. Another interesting sacrifice is that called *Jom-sim*, which, according to tradition, was originally a sacrifice only to the sun; but in course of time the Santals got separate *Jom-sim Bongas*; so now at the *Jom-sim* the sun (*Sing Bonga*) receives the sacrifice of a goat, and the special *Jom-sim Bonga* that of a goat or a ram. The *Jom-sim* is performed with many quaint ceremonies, which differ somewhat for the different septs. It is in certain respects the most important sacrifice the Santals have, and probably the oldest, for it has more aboriginal features in it than any other sacrifice of theirs. The *Kutam-dangra* (literally the felled bullock) regularly comes after the *Jom-sim*, but may also be performed separately after a vow. One ox is sacrificed (by felling) to the ancestors, one ox is sacrificed to the household god, and one to Marang Buru (both by beheading).

Each family also has two special gods of its own—the Orak Bonga or household god and the Abge Bonga or secret god. The names of these gods are kept secret by the Santal till just before his death, when he whispers them to his eldest son. The object of this secrecy is to avoid incurring the jealousy of the other spirits by letting them know which spirit is preferred by the family. Men are particularly careful to keep this secret from women, for fear that one of them should get hold of the Abge Bongas, who are supposed to protect their houses against sickness, danger and witches. The idea is that she would seduce the *bonga*, he would do her will, and there would be no possibility of escape from the calamities which would inevitably ensue.

When sacrifices are offered to the Orak Bongas, the whole family partakes of the offerings, but only men may touch food that has been laid before the Abge Bongas. These sacrifices take place once a year, but there is no fixed date, each man performing them when it suits his convenience. The Abge sacrifice is performed outside the village, only male relatives being present. What is left of the sacrifice is burnt on the spot.

Mak-More is an occasional sacrifice performed as the result of a vow made at a time of great distress, *e.g.*, during epidemics. When it is performed goats and fowls are sacrificed to all the national *bongas* in the *jaher*. After the sacrifice the animals are eaten by the men alone, the only exception being the wife of the *næke* who gets a share. The sacrifice is followed by dancing and singing.

The religion of the Santals is essentially a man's religion. Women are not allowed to be present at sacrifices except when they are offered in the house to the ancestors and family gods, and then only if there are no men to help the sacrificer. When a sacrifice takes place in the holy grove they may not eat the flesh of the offering, the men burning what they do not eat. This prohibition does not apply in the case of animals sacrificed to the ancestors and family gods, except that women may not eat the flesh of an animal sacrificed to Marang Buru or the head of any animal: the latter is cooked with rice and eaten by the men. On the other hand, when the sacrifice is offered in the holy grove, only the village priest can eat the head. No woman is permitted to climb the consecrated trees in the holy grove, and no woman belonging to another household—in most cases not even a daughter of the house if she is or has been married—is allowed to enter the *bhitar*, a small closet inside the house partitioned off by a low wall, where the family gods and ancestors are supposed to reside, and where offerings are made to them and to Marang Buru. If any one breaks either of these rules, sacrifices must be offered to appease the offended *bongas*, who otherwise will revenge themselves by sending sickness and death on their worshippers.*

Human sacrifices used to be offered to Buru-Bonga, and Sir Herbert Risley states in the *Tribe and Castes of Bengal* that actual instances had been mentioned to him of "people being kidnapped and sacrificed within quite recent times by influential headmen of communes or villages who hoped in this way to gain great riches or to win some specially coveted private revenge." One authentic case of human sacrifice, which took place in 1871, may be mentioned. A Santal, called Limbu Manjhi, having suffered for a long time from a painful illness without finding a remedy, decoyed a stranger, who was staying in his house, to a lonely hillock, and there, with the assistance of three others, offered him as a human sacrifice to relieve his own disease. The victim was first gagged and bound with his own cloth, and a small quantity of hair shaved from his head with a razor, which Limbu had brought with him. Then a Paharia, who was one of the party, commenced a *puja*, with *ghi*, *arwa* rice and *sindur*, while the three Santals tied a rope of twisted creeper or *chob* round the victim's

*P. O. Bodding, *Taboo Customs amongst the Santals*, J. A. S. B., Part III, 1898.

neck, and fastened it to a branch of a tree. When the *puja* was over Limbu unfastened the gag, saying that it was not proper for the man to die with a cloth over his face. The other two Santals then seized the victim's legs, and held him up, while Limbu struck off his head with two blows of a sword.

The sun, moon and stars are considered to be animate ASTROLOGY. beings, the sun being the male, the moon the female and the stars their children. A shooting-star is called a star-excrement, and a comet a tail-star. The four stars in the Great Bear constellation which form the rectangle of the plough are known as the *budhi parkom* or the old woman's bedstead, while the other three stars are called *bursi kombroko*, the fire-pan thieves; the star furthest out from the bed is always kept so far away because he is laughing. The three stars of Orion's belt are *arar ipilko*, the yoke stars; and three others close by are *arar lalakko*, the yoke-cutters or dressers. The Pleiades are known as *sorenko*. "What *sorenko* means", writes Mr. Bodding, "I am not at present prepared to say, but it may be mentioned that one of the twelve Santal septs is called Soren and *soren sipahi* (the soren soldier) is very frequent combination." Two small stars near Vega in Lyra are called *potam bela*, or the dove's eggs. For the Milky way they have a name meaning the way of the Market-place, but according to some it is also called the Elephant's Path. The "morning star" (whether Jupiter or Venus) is sometimes styled *corkheda*, or the thief pursuing star, because it is believed that thieves when they see this star appear, cease from their nefarious business and make their way home. The most favoured explanation of an eclipse is that once upon a time the sun or the moon (or both together) stood security for the human race when the latter were compelled to borrow food from a certain godling, called Dusad. The debt has never been repaid, and now and again the Dusad stretches out his hand to catch hold of the sun or the moon and exact his dues; this causes an eclipse. At such times the Santals beat their kettledrums and bring out their stores of grain into the open, and with much shouting offer to liquidate the debt if the godling will but relinquish his hold. During the eclipse a fast is observed and none may look upon a woman who is with child. To explain the phases of the moon they have a story that in olden days the sun and the moon had many children. The boys were living

with their father the sun, the girls with their mother the moon. By reason of the terrible heat of the sun and his children (the stars) it was feared that the earth would be burnt up; so the moon suggested to the sun that they should devour their children in order to avert the catastrophe. The sun bade his wife eat up her daughters in the first place; if that were sufficient, said he, he would also eat his sons. Then the moon—"a woman", adds the narrator, "and we know their tricky ways"—put all her daughters in a large Bamboo basket and hid them after which she went to the sun and said that she had devoured all her girls but still the heat was as bad as ever, and if he did not devour the boys too mankind would surely perish. The foolish husband believed her and ate up all his sons, the day-stars. But when it became night he saw that the daughters were still unharmed, and in great anger he took a sword and pursued his wife and overtaking her he cut her. He might indeed have destroyed her utterly, but when she gave up two of her daughters he relented and left her. These two stars are the planets Venus and Jupiter, which may be seen during the day time. Yet every month the sun remembers his wife's deceit, and pursues and cuts her, so that the moon has very little rest except on two days in each month. Thunder and lightning, like all other natural phenomena, are believed by the Santals to be acts of the Supreme Being, so that they say "he rains" or "he blows" or "he thunders". They have various names for thunder, most of which appear to be enomatopoeic. In common with other races, they think that stone implements found in the ground are thunderbolts and call them *ceter-diri*, which means stroke-of-lightning stones. They have heard the tale of Rama's shooting, but it is doubtful whether they place any credence in it. Some Santals try to guard themselves against lightning by keeping an arrow on the bowstring in aim against the threatening cloud.*

WITCH-
CRAFT.

The Santal has an inveterate dread of the evil eye and of witches who are supposed to have intercourse with the *bongas* and to have power to kill people by eating their entrails, to cause illness, blights, murrain, etc. On this subject Mr. Bodding writes:—"A most interesting book might be written on the witches, their supposed origin, their

*Mr. W. G. Lacey, I.C.S., Census Report of B. & O. 1931, Appendix VI.

doings, etc., and how the Santals try to guard themselves against them, although their own traditions maintain that the witches always blind the witch-finders, so that they will never be able to tell the right woman. I believe it is a mistake to pay no attention to this belief of the Santals. It is not nonsense pure and simple, when every Santal fears witches. They have some reason for their belief. It is a fact that there are witches among the Santals, viz., women who meet in secret in the dead of night at certain fixed places, generally on the Sunday night nearest to a new moon, who have their peculiar secret songs and *mantras*, who perform sacrifices, and who also try to kill people by magic very much in the same way as the old witches of Europe tried to. Sometimes they do it by drawing a picture of the person to be killed and then doing the killing *in effigie*; sometimes they bury *bongas* in places, expecting them to do what is wanted; often they bury a tuft of hair with *sindur*, etc.

"It is, of course, out of the question that they can do anything by magic, although they themselves may believe so; but they can do a great deal by suggestion and by keeping people in fear; and I have no doubt that they know some vegetable poisons which they administer themselves or by proxy. It is significant that in one of their *mantras* they mention *Kamburu guru*, who is the old *guru* of the medicine men (*ojhas*). That witches are found, I believe, may to some extent be accounted for by the peculiarity of the Santal religion as essentially a man's religion. The women are not permitted to approach any deity themselves; it has all to be done through the men. The two sexes have not much confidence in each other; on the contrary, the male and female sections of the community live their lives rather separate from one another, the one not having the courage or the inclination to trust the other. Now the women want, just as much as the men, to have an opportunity—for good or for evil—for direct appeal to the supernatural. It cannot be done in public or with the consent of the men: hence it must be done in secret, if it is to be done at all. I cannot say for certain, but I am inclined to think that we have here an explanation of much witchcraft. It is a secret practice of religion, but like most secret things it is liable to develop into bad practices."

The Santals call a witch a *dan*, a word which, though Hindi, has come from Sanskrit. They have several methods of witch-finding, and go to work in a very deliberate manner.

If a person is ill and does not get well in a couple of days, an *ojha* is called in. He proceeds to divine with the help of oil and two sal leaves, marking the different parts of the leaf, one "house" (place) in it meaning a *bonga*, etc., and one a witch. Then oil is applied, and, muttering a *mantra*, the *ojha* rubs the leaves together. If the oil and dirt show up in the "house" of witches, the villagers act upon the knowledge thus imparted. In the evening all the people, with the *manjhi* at their head, walk through the street, calling out that such and such a person is ill, and if he does not recover they will not call "her" (*i.e.*, the witch) good. If after this the sick person does not recover, *i.e.*, if the witch does not obey, the headman sends pair of men to the different *ojhas* in the vicinity to verify the divination. If three *ojhas* confirm it, its truth is considered certain; if not, they go on till they get enough divinations to support the first verdict. No one has really any doubt of its truth; it is merely desired to secure a kind of moral support.

The next step is to locate the witch. This is done by the people fixing fresh branches in the ground and then observing which branch first withers. In order to be fair to the witches, another test is made. A large number of branches are put in the ground, first one as a witness on the part of the sun-god (Sing Bonga), one for the Orak Bonga of the sick person, one for *bonga* of the wife's father, one for the male relatives, etc., one for disease, and one for each house in the village. The branches are smeared with *sindur*, Sing Bonga is invoked, and after some hours they come back to see which branches have withered. To make quite sure, the test is repeated at other places outside the village boundary. The same object is also attained by putting a leaf with rice in a white-ant hill and observing which is first touched by the ants.

The sick man is now asked whether he wants the investigation to go on. If so, they go to the *Jan* (*i.e.* the man who knows), who is supposed to be able to tell the name of the witch by revelation. The Santals imagine that they test the ability of the *Jan*, and they act upon his declaration when he names anybody. "As a matter of fact," writes Mr. Bodding, "all *Jans* are unmitigated scoundrels, who through spies get all necessary information respecting the sick and the suspected, so as to be able to denounce any one they like. They are responsible for much misery and many

crimes. A witch may be beaten to death; formerly she was certain of being driven away from her home in a horribly degrading way." Various attempts have been made to stop such murders, one curious device being employed by a former Assistant Commissioner. Whenever he heard that women had been denounced, he brought out a galvanic battery. The girl was told to hold the handles, but the electric current was disconnected. Her accusers were next told to do the same, and, the current being turned on, received a good shock, remaining prisoners until they acknowledge that they had made a mistake. The Santals still cling to their belief in witches, and not a year passes without some poor woman being convicted and killed for the mysterious mischief she is supposed to have done.

The custom of taboo is common among the Santals. TABOO.
Names are tabooed in the cases of (1) a man and his younger brother's wife, (2) a man and his wife's younger brother's wife, (3) a woman and her younger sister's husband, and (4) a woman and her younger brother's wife. Husband and wife are also prohibited from mentioning each other's names, not only when they are speaking of or to each other but also if they are speaking of another person bearing the same name. This custom is strictly observed, and in the case of brothers and sisters-in-law a breach of it is considered a sin which will be punished both in this world and the next. The Santals also taboo the totems which have given names to their septs and sub-septs. For instance, the Mal Saren may not utter the word *mal* when engaged in a religious ceremony or when sitting on a *panchayat* to determine any tribal questions. The Jihu-Saran may not kill or eat the *jihu* or babbler bird, nor may they wear a particular sort of necklace known as *jihu mala* from the resemblance which it bears to the babbler's eggs. The *jihu* is said to have guided the ancestor of the sept to water when he was dying of thirst in the forest. The Sankh-Saran may not wear shell necklaces or ornaments, and are forbidden to eat, carry, cut or use shells. The custom of taboo also prevents women joining in religious ceremonies.*

There is a curious practice of sympathetic magic in connection with the annual national hunt of the Santals, which SYMPATHETIC
MAGIC.

*The Revd. P. O. Boddington, *Taboo Customs amongst the Santals*, J. A. S. B., Part III, 1898; *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 228.

is presided over by a master of the hunt called the *dihri*. The *dihri* is responsible for the hunt, *i.e.*, that all goes well and no calamity happens. He himself seeks by divination to find out who are threatened by any danger during its continuance, and advises them to turn back; but they generally make him sacrifice fowls for them to Sing Bonga to avert the calamity. He further performs sacrifices to the *bongas* of the forest where the hunt is held, to ensure success and safety. The wife of the *dihri* is also held responsible. She must remain at home absolutely quiet, doing nothing and harbouring only pure thoughts; and she has to remain in this state till she knows that the men have had success or something has happened. She looks into a cup of water; if she sees this turn to blood, she knows that blood has flown, *i.e.*, an animal has been killed, and she is released. Otherwise she must wait till she can calculate that they have reached the place of meeting. In the same way the *dihri* must not touch any food till an animal has been shot or wounded. If there is any disaster, the people will accuse the *dihri* of being responsible, and the latter will accuse his wife, holding that she must have misbehaved in some way.

FESTI-
ALS.
Sohrae.

In the Santal villages there is a succession of festivals throughout the year, nearly all connected with agricultural operations. The chief of these is the *Sohrae* or harvest festival, celebrated in Pus (December-January) after the rice crop of the year has been harvested. It used to be celebrated in the month of Asin, for formerly they had gathered their principal crop by that time. The Santals, indeed, still call Asin the month of *Sohrae*—a name probably corrupted from Dasahara. When the day has been fixed, all houses prepare beer (*handi*) and invite their relatives, especially daughters, sisters, etc. The night before the festival commences, the *naeke* is religiously abstinent—for before any sacrifice the sacrificer must not have relations with a woman and sleeps on the ground on a mat. As soon as it is day, the *godet* goes round and collects sacrificial fowls from every house. In the middle of the forenoon the *naeke* goes somewhere near water, together with some of the village people, the *godet* taking the fowls with him. The *naeke* bathes and then sacrifices the fowls to the different *bongas*, after which the men of the village cook the fowls with rice and eat them; they also drink *handi*. The *manjhi* then harangues the people, telling them

that they must not touch forbidden fruit. They answer:—"We stop our ears with twelve balls of cotton, and we will not pay heed to any matter, be it great or small." In other words, they agree to throw off all moral restraint for the five days of the festival.

After this they call the cowboys with the cattle and make the latter tread out sacrificial magic circles. The cow which treads on and breaks an egg placed here, or simply smells at it, is caught; they wash her feet, anoint her horns with oil, and also smear *sindur* on them; for the owner of the cow will have good luck. The cowherd is lifted up and put down before the *manjhi*, whom he salutes, and after him all old men. The following days are days of continued revelry wherein all participate; old people drink, young people drink, dance and are generally immoral, the idea being that all shall be glad.

On the first night the young people go from cowshed to cowshed, singing and drumming to "bless" the cattle. The next day all the men go with their plough-yokes, battle-axes and knives to bathe, and in every house they sacrifice pigs and fowls to Marang Buru, the household gods and their ancestors. The third day they set up poles in the village street, and having tied the cattle to them tease and excite the animals and make them furious. Friends come and go visiting one another, all more or less drunk and wild with excitement. After all is over, the young people drink and eat in the house of the *jog-manjhi*. This beer-drinking readmits them into caste, licentiousness ceases, and the closed ears of the people are opened. They go through the village street beating a branch to drive *dardaha* (the glutton) away; for from this time onwards the people must cease to eat according to their heart's desire, and hard life recommences.

For the five days and nights during which the festival lasts the Santals indulge in a veritable saturnalia, giving themselves up to dancing, eating, drinking, singing and sexual license. This license, however, does not extend to adultery, nor does it sanction intercourse between persons of the same sept; but if the latter offence is committed, it is punished less severely than at other times. Formerly the *Sohrae* was held at different dates in each village, with the result that debauchery and drunkenness were indulged in for weeks at a time, but this has now been stopped by an order that the festival must be held at the same time in each village. This order is not always observed, for if a person

dies, or a child is born in the village, *Sohrae* must be postponed till the village is purified.

Sakrat.

Close upon *Sohrae* comes *Sakrat*, which is held on the last day in the month of Pus. The previous day they catch fish, and on the day of *Sakrat* itself the men go out hunting while the women make parched rice and cakes which the men offer to the ancestors. In the afternoon the *jog-manjhi* collects the men to shoot at a target, after which they dance a war dance and have various kinds of amusements. The day ends with drinking and dancing.

Baha.

Next in importance to the *Sohrae* is the *Baha Parab*, which is held in Phalgun (February-March). The *Baha* (literally flower) festival celebrates the fact that the new year is well commenced. It is characterized by frolic and gladness, drinking, dancing and eating; but it is not such a time of revelry as the *Sohrae*. During it fowls are sacrificed in the *jaher* to all the national deities. On the first day of the festival the young people of the village build two sheds in the *jaher*, one for Jaherera, Moreko and Marang Buru, and the other for Gosainera; and the *thans* are cleansed by a plastering of cow-dung. Then they go to bathe, and oil several articles (winnowing-fan, basket, bow and arrow, battle-axe, broom, a wristlet, a necklace, a bell and a horn) which are to be used next day, when three persons become "possessed" by the three first *bongas* mentioned above. The whole night is spent in drumming at the house of the *naeke*, where all assemble with the three *bongas*—for the persons possessed are addressed as *bongas*. Jaherera—the goddess is a female, but a man is possessed—takes the ornaments, the basket and the broom; Moreko takes the bow and arrow and Marang Buru carries the battle-axe. With these articles they start running for the *jaher* followed by the boys. On arriving at the *jaher*, Jaherera sweeps the *thans*; the *naeke* asks the *bongas*, i.e., those personating the gods, for the things they have brought, and places them on a mat. He next proceeds to ask them questions, a proceeding which probably was originally an attempt to find out something about the coming year. The *naeke* then washes the *bongas* and throws the surplus water over them, whereupon the *bongas* jump up howling. After this Jaherera commences washing, and finally they return to the village.

Next day they start again, as on the first day, for the *jaher*, the *bongas* carrying the same thing. When they see a fine *sai*

tree in bloom, Moreko shoots an arrow into it, while Marang Buru climbs it and cuts down the flowering branches, Jaherera receiving the flowers in a basket. On the road Marang Buru gathers *mahua* blossoms. In the *jaher* the *bongas* are again placed on a mat under the shed, and the *naeke*, sitting in front of them, sacrifices the fowls, and places a bunch of flowers and a *mahua* blossom before each *bonga*. The *bongas* suck the blood of the fowls, whereupon the *naeke* washes their feet, Jaherera doing the same to the *naeke*. The *naeke*, together with his wife, who is now brought to the *jaher* for the purpose, eats one of the fowls cooked with rice; some of the villagers eat the rest in the *jaher*. After this all leave, except the *naeke*, who remains alone in the *jaher*. The villagers then proceed to sacrifice fowls and pigs in their own houses, and to eat and drink. In the afternoon they go to the *jaher* to bring the *naeke* back in state, and the rest of the day is spent in general merry-making. During this festival the women enjoy themselves to their heart's content, drenching one another with water from the jars they carry.

Erok-sim is the sowing festival celebrated in Asarh (June-*Erok-sim*. July). *Erok-sim*, *Sohrae* and *Baha* are the only festivals at which the whole village perform sacrifices publicly as well as in their houses. At the other festivals the *naeke* alone sacrifices on behalf of the village.

The *Jatra Parab* is a festival borrowed from the Bhuniyas by *Jatra* the Santals, which is performed here and there but is not pro-*Parab*. perly a Santal village festival. It is held in January or February and is marked by the sacrifice of a pigeon and a goat. While these are being offered the *chatyas*, or oracles of the god, three or five in number, sit close by and work themselves into a prophetic frenzy. Any Santal who consults them can learn the future or the causes of ill fortune, such as his own illness, the death of his cattle, etc. This festival is also the occasion of a fair, at which there is a merry-go-round, similar to that used by the Nepalese. It consists of a strong circular framework, suspended between two high posts, in which seats are placed and made to revolve.

At the *Pata* festival, which is held in the rains in honour of *Pata and* *Pata Bonga*, the same sacrifices are offered as at the *Jatra Chata*. *Parab*. It is really a Hindu festival in honour of Mahadeo (Siva), much frequented by Santals. The *Chata Parab* (a corrupt form of the Hindu *Chark Puja*) is observed on some day in Baisakh. Formerly the Santals used to be suspended

from a high revolving pole by hooks inserted in their back and swung round and round. The swinging apparatus still exists, but if anybody swings he is suspended by ropes not by hooks. Both the festivals are times of revelry, during which the young people, Santals and Hindus, spend one night in gross immorality.

Other
festivals.

Other festivals are as follows :—*Hariar-sim*, the feast of the sprouting of the rice is held in San i.e., Sraban (July-August). *Irigundli-nawai*, i.e., the offering of the first fruits of the millets called *iri* (*Panicum miliaceum*) and *gunali* (*Panicum frumentaceum*), is held in Bhadra (August-September). *Janthar Puja* is held in Aghan (November-December) to celebrate the first fruits of the winter rice crop. A pig or a ram is sacrificed in the *Pargana than* of the *jaher* by the *kudam naeke* : the animal is eaten by the men alone. The *naeke* and the villagers offer at this time the first fruits of the paddy.

Magh-sim is held in the month of Magh (January-February) when the jungle grass is cut : fowls are sacrificed to all *bongas* by the *naeke*, but not in the *jaher*. This last festival marks the end of the Santal year. Servants are paid their wages, and fresh engagements are entered into. All the village officials, the *manjhi*, *paranik*, *jog-manjhi*, *godet*, *naeke* and *kudam naeke* go through the form of resigning their appointments, and the cultivators give notice of giving up their lands. After ten days or so the *manjhi* calls the villagers together and say he has changed his mind and will stay on as *manjhi* if they will have him. His offer is accompanied with free drinks of rice beer, and is carried by acclamation. One by one the other officials do the same ; the ryots follow suit and, after much beer has been consumed, the affairs of the village go on as they did before.

BIRTH
AND BIRTH
CEREMONIES.

When a child is born the umbilical cord is cut with an arrow, and the placenta buried in the floor inside the house. The house and village become religiously unclean. No sacrifice, and consequently no festival, can be held in the village, and no one can go and eat in the house where the birth has taken place till they are purified by the *janam chhatiar* ceremony. The procedure is as follows. All the males of the village are shaved in the house of birth, first the *naeke*, then the *kudam naeke*, then the *manjhi* and other officials, and, last of all, the father of the child. Then the child is brought out by the midwife, who has two small leaf

cups, one filled with water and the other empty. The head of the child having been shaved, the midwife puts the hair in the empty cup and ties two threads to the arrow with which the umbilical cord was cut. Then the men, led by the father, go to bathe at the place whence water is fetched: when they return, the midwife takes the women to the same place, carrying with her oil and turmeric, the arrow and the hair. The midwife throws the hair with one of the two threads into the water after having made five *sindur* marks at the spot. This is called "buying the watering place." When they have finished they return, the midwife last of all, bringing back with her the other thread and the arrow. This second thread is soaked in turmeric and then tied round the waist of the child. After this the mother sits under the eaves of the house with the child in her lap and also some leaves of the *atnak* tree (*Terminalia tomentosa*).

The midwife then kneads some cow-dung with water on the eaves of the house, lets some of the mixture drip down on the mother, smears a little on her own head and also sucks a little of the same stuff. The mother now puts her child on a *charpai* inside the house, and the midwife proceeds to mix flour with water in three leaf cups. The contents of one she sprinkles on the legs of the *charpai*: the contents of a second she sprinkles on the breast of the *naeke*, *kudam naeke*, *manjhi* and other officials, and thereafter on the breasts of all the men of the village. The last cup is for the women, who are sprinkled in the same order, first the *naeke's* wife, then the *kudam naeke's* wife and so on.

The father and mother having decided (inside the house) what name is to be given to the child, the midwife comes out, salutes all those present and announces the name, saying: "From to-day call him at the hunt by this name;" or, in the case of a girl, "Come, so-and-so, if you are going to fetch water." Then they bring out rice soup cooked with *nim* leaves, giving it to the *naeke*, the *kudam naeke* and so on, according to the table of *chhatiar* precedence, and, after the men have been served, to the women. After five days the child is shaved again. This ceremony of *janam chhatiar* is regarded as giving the child a place amongst human beings. The important part which the women play in it may be noted; they are the real actors.

Janam chhatiar is, as a rule, celebrated in the case of a male child five days and in case of a girl three days after birth.

It may be postponed, but is always celebrated on uneven days (e.g., the seventh) after birth. If, however, the child is born within three days before a new moon, it receives its name earlier, and even on the day of birth, the belief being that to give a child its name in another month than that in which it was born will bring misfortune of some kind upon it, especially when he or she is married. The eldest son takes the name of his paternal grandfather; a second son that of his maternal grandfather; a third son that of the paternal grandfather's brother; the fourth son that of the maternal grandfather's brother, etc. A similar custom is observed in the case of girls, the names of relations on the female side being taken in same order. This custom is rigorously observed, there being only two exceptions. If the father is a *ghardi jawae* (*vide infra*), the name of the maternal grandfather or grandmother is given first; and if a woman takes medicine to get children—a rather frequent practice—the child receives the name of the man who gave the medicine or of his wife.

There is a curious practice of giving a child two names, viz., its real (*mul*) name, and a second (*bahna*) name, by which it is always known. This practice is especially observed when the child is named after a relative whose name it would be improper for some members of the family to mention. If the namesake has had two names, the child generally gets both; if there is something peculiar or abnormal about him, he is very soon known by a name denoting this peculiarity. The Santals are reluctant to mention the real name of any person, fearing it may bring about something untoward. Many persons, however, have only one name.

To enable anybody to take his place in Santal society and participate in its rights, rules, ceremonies, etc., they have another ceremony called *chacho chhatiar* (*chacho* meaning to toddle or walk). Without having been through this no one can be married and no one can be cremated, but has to be buried. There is no age fixed for this ceremony; only it must precede marriage. If a man has several children he tries to have it at one and the same time for all of them. The procedure is as follows:—The father brews *handi* and provides oil and turmeric for the villagers. When the *handi* is ready he calls *manjhi* and *paranik* in the morning and gives them a drink. They ask him what *handi* it is, and, after drinking, the headman bids the *godet* call the villagers together. When

*Chacho
chhatiar.*

they have come, the girls of the village anoint the *naeke* and his wife, who sit on a mat, with oil and turmeric; next the *kudam naeke* and his wife, then the *manjhi* and his wife and all the officials in the same order as at the *janam chhatiar*; last of all, all the women are anointed. The *handi* is now served in leaf cups to the *manjhi* and *paranik* and then to the other people; after which all are ready for further proceedings. They ask how many children the *handi* is for, and for each child four small leaf cups are given to all those present. Then they ask the father: "How many *iri* (*Panicum crus-galli*) and how many *ebra* (*Setaria Italica*) ears have ripened for you?" This is a figurative expression for "How many boys and girls have you?" On receiving an answer they ask again: "Where is the land?" The father tells them where the namesakes of the children live, whereupon they call for "namesake *handi*," i.e., beer which the namesakes present have brought with them. The people then sing a special song and dance and drink.

A *guru*, who in a way officiates for the father of the family, now starts the *binti*, i.e., a mythical historical recitation. He begins with the creation of the earth and relates the Santal history of mankind, their wanderings, etc., according to tradition, and recounts how their ancestors spread abroad, some of them coming to Sikhar, where the first *pargana* was Hikim, who said to the people. "Let us settle here; we have found primeval forest and virgin soil." The ancestors said: "Let us help him; we will burn and clear jungle, we will live and prosper." Then they came to their present abode and married, cleared jungle and multiplied. Thereupon the *guru* on behalf of the family enters into a colloquy with the people, in which *inter alia* he says—"We implore you to let us be with you to brew and drink beer, to fetch water, to pin leaves together on the day of marriage, the day of *chhatiar*, the day of cremation. We were like crows, we are become white like paddy birds. You, villagers, be our witnesses." This ends the formal part of the proceedings.

The festival is concluded by further drinking and singing of *chhatiar* and other songs. It will be seen that there is no special or formal act done by the village people. They are invited for the occasion; the father (or his representative) implores the community to recognize the young ones as participants at the three great social occasions, and the people

acknowledge this by drinking *handi*, the Santal mode of ratification. There is no kind of sacrifice at either *janam* or *chacho chhatiar*.

**MAR-
RIAGE.**

Adult marriages are the rule among the Santals, a young man generally marrying between the age of 18 and 22, *i.e.*, as soon as he can afford it after he has grown up. Until their insurrection in 1855 the Santals did not marry before about 25 years of age, but now it very seldom happens that marriage is left till so late. Child-marriage is very rare, and is an innovation borrowed from the Hindus.

Sexual intercourse before marriage is tolerated, except between members of the same sept; in such cases the guilty parties are outcasted. It is, however, rare for illegitimate children to be born, for if a girl becomes pregnant, the young man is bound to marry her or get her a husband, who acts as the child's father and gives it his sept. The regular Santal name for all kinds of marriage is *bapla*, a word which very probably meant originally mutual strengthening, *i.e.*, of the two families. There are two essential features of the marriage ceremony. The first is *sindurdan*, *i.e.*, the smearing of vermilion on the bride's forehead and the parting of her hair. The bride is seated in a basket held up by her relations and the bridegroom, who applies the *sindur* and rides on the shoulders of one of his relations. The second is a meal in which the husband and wife eat together, for by so doing she passes to her husband's family. When the girl is unmarried, the binding ceremony is in all cases the *sindurdan*; but there is a difference in the methods in which *sindurdan* is reached. The following is a brief account of the latter.

**Kiring-
bahu.**

The most common form is that called *kiring-bahu*, *i.e.*, a bought daughter-in-law. The marriage is negotiated through a marriage-broker (*raebar*), even if the parents on both sides arrange everything, as is sometimes the case when they are friends and desire the match. Anyone may be a marriage-broker, but an elderly man or woman is most often employed. The *raebar* finds out where an eligible girl is, and arranges a day for the young man's friends to come and see the girl's house. On the way they look out very eagerly for good or bad omens, and will turn back if anything of ill omen occurs. On arriving at the girl's village the go-between gets hold of the *jog-manjhi* and says to him that they have come to look at a vessel, and asks him to show them it. The girl is then

produced walking between two other girls. If the bridegroom's friends are satisfied, they are sometimes invited to the girl's house for food and drink. Some time afterwards the girl's friends go in the same way to see the prospective bridegroom. Formerly it was not the custom to let the two see one another before marriage; now-a-days they are permitted a distant view of one another at a market-place or the like. When mutually satisfied the friends commence visiting and feasting one another, but not in a casual way, for every step is taken according to custom. The girl's friends come to see the house and door of the young man, *i.e.*, to ascertain his worldly means. Then follows betrothal; the bridegroom's friends go to the other party and are feasted; the future father-in-law takes the girl and seats her on his thigh, and in this position puts a solid brass necklet on her and kisses her on her mouth. Henceforward the parents commence to salute each other in the manner appropriate to their new relationship, and also to use the plural in addressing one another. Afterwards a feast of the same kind is held in the young man's house.

Then comes the payment of the bride-price. For this a day is fixed, the date being remembered by knots on a string, one of which is untied every day. After many ceremonies at the bridegroom's house they proceed in state to the bride's house, where the bride-price is paid and there is feasting and drinking. Two rupees of the price are handed over to the *jog-manjhi*, who gives them to the bride's father. This is called "track covering," and is one of the few features which may point to the original Santal marriage being forcible abduction. The marriage takes place sometimes in the same year, sometimes the next or even later, and is performed with an astonishing amount of ceremonial and many quaint usages. The bride-price, which is paid by the bridegroom, is usually Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 or even Rs. 7. If more than Rs. 3 is paid, something is paid back in kind worth much more than the extra amount. The rule is that if Rs. 5 are paid a cow, a brass cup and clothes are given for the bridegroom, a goat for the bridegroom's friends and some rice; if Rs. 7, a cow with a calf, a brass cup, a brass plate and the other things above mentioned.

A man with daughters and no sons can take a son-in-law in his house as a *Ghar-jamai* and to give him thereby all the rights of a son. A *Ghar-jamai* can be adopted only by a *Ghardi-jamai and Gharjamai.*

deliberate act in the presence of the village community at the time of the marriage. A widow cannot create a *Ghar-jamai*. Some distinction is made between a *Ghar-jamai* and a *Ghardi-jamai*. In both cases the bridal party goes from the bride's house to fetch the prospective husband and no dowry (*pon*) is given, but whereas the *Ghar-jamai* is adopted permanently as a son, a *Ghar-jamai* merely lives and labours in his wife's house for a previously stipulated period which may extend up to five years. He thereby works off the debt due on account of the non-payment of *pon*.

*Kiring
jawae.*

Kiring-jawae, meaning a bought husband, is a form of marriage recognized when a girl has had an intrigue with or becomes pregnant by a man who cannot marry her because they both belong to the same sept. The rule is that, as he cannot marry her, he is bound to buy her a husband, whose consent is secured by giving him enough to make it worth his while. As a rule the name of the guilty man is kept secret, and the girl's father pays the bridegroom the money required, which he frequently gets from her lover. Rupees 20 are paid to the man willing to marry the girl, stand sponsor for the child, i.e., cause *janam chhatiar* to be performed, and obtain for it admission to his sub-sept. Formerly the custom was to pay one pair of plough bullocks, a cow with a calf and one *bandi* of paddy (about 10 to 12 maunds).

Itut.

There are two forms of marriage for young people who settle matters for themselves without intermediaries, viz., *itut* and *nir-bolok*. *Itut* means paint-smearing and is so called because the young man, when he gets an opportunity, smears some red paint or mud—anything will do—on the forehead of the girl with whom he is in love and thus claims her as his wife. Having done this, he runs away to avoid the thrashing he may expect at the hands of her relations, if he is caught on the spot. The girl's people go to the young man's house, smash all the earthenware pots they find in or about the house, and break the fireplace. If they find the boy they tie him up, beat him till he is half dead and lay him on his back in the courtyard. Then they kill two goats with a *kapi* or shoot with bow and arrow two pigs belonging to the offender. Next they go to the cattle shed and take away as bail about three pairs of the best bullocks or buffaloes they can find. After this they go to the *manjhi* and sit in judgment on the case. Besides the two buffaloes or bullocks, they bring a goat belonging to the girl's family, and both parties eat the three

animals together. The girl's father gets Rs. 16, and the headman of the young man's village Rs. 5 for "saving the boy's life." Cases have been known of boys being killed on such occasions, and such cases have not been taken up, the popular opinion being that the boy has got his deserts.

Itut is resorted to when the girl's parents are not agreeable to the match and the young people want to force their approval. In such cases the latter arrange matters beforehand, and as a rule their plans succeed; when all is settled, they are remarried in a regular way. In some cases, however, a young man will resort to *itut* when he has some doubts about being able to gain the girl he wants in the regular way. It also sometimes happens that a youth will do so simply to revenge himself on a girl, having no intention to keep her as his wife, but merely to have her divorced and stigmatised as divorced, for if the girl declines to live with him she must be divorced in full form and cannot again be married as a spinster. On the whole *itut* is rare.

Nir-bolok (literally meaning "run in") is a form of ^{*Nir-bolok.*} marriage used when a girl takes the initiative and is of two kinds. The first takes place when a young man and a girl living in the same village have agreed to marry, but the former hesitates about the match. In this case, the girl goes to the *jag-manjhi* and reveals the secret to him, and he takes her to the house of the boy's parents. Two days afterwards the parents inform the *manjhi*, and they talk the matter over, temporarily separate the young couple, and end by having a regular marriage. The other kind of *nir-bolok* is resorted to when a young man, after living with a girl, refuses to marry her; then the girl forcibly enters his house and sits in a corner, whilst the future mother-in-law tries to drive her out by burning tobacco leaves. If the young man agrees to keep the girl, a marriage is arranged in the manner mentioned above; otherwise the villagers fine both, and he must give the girl Rs. 3.

There is another form of marriage called *tunki dipil bapla* ^{*Tunki dipil bapla.*} (literally "carrying a basket-on-the-head-marriage"), which is the poor man's marriage. The girl is simply brought without any ceremony to the bridegroom's house, where *sindurdan* is performed.

The form called *sanga* is used for the marriage of widows ^{*Sanga.*} and divorced women. The bride is brought to the bridegroom's house attended by a small party of her own friends, and the

binding portion of the ritual consists in the bridegroom taking a *dimbu* flower, marking it with *sindur* with his left hand, and with the same hand sticking it in the bride's back hair.

Widows are allowed to marry again, but the bride-price is only half that given for an unmarried girl. The reason for this is that the Santals believe that after death a widow will rejoin her first husband, and her second husband will only enjoy her in this life. Bigamy is not uncommon, nor is it regarded as irregular, but few Santals can afford more than one wife.

POLYAN-
DHY.

Fraternal polyandry is a recognized custom among the Santals. There is sexual intercourse between a husband's younger brothers and his wife (*hili*), provided they show a certain amount of decency and do not make too open a display of their relations. According to the Revd. L. O. Skrefsrud, the younger brothers formerly enjoyed this privilege even after they were married, but at present the wife is usually common property only while they are unmarried. When an elder brother dies, his widow very frequently makes her home with one of the younger brothers as a kind of elder wife, and this almost invariably happens when the widow is left badly off. Similarly, a Santal woman's younger sisters (*erwel kuriko*) have a share of her husband's favours. It is, in fact, considered perfectly legitimate for a man to carry on an intrigue with his wife's younger sister, provided the girl is agreeable, the only condition being that if she becomes pregnant he must make her his wife. Such intimacy is not resented by his wife. On the contrary, she countenances and sometimes encourages it, though Santal wives are usually extremely jealous. If taxed about it, she will often reply that it prevents her younger sister from having liaisons with other young men. It must not be supposed that such relations are universal. "All elder brothers do not submit tamely to their wives being enjoyed in common; all wives are not complacent, nor do all younger brothers and younger sisters conform to what is asked of them. Families often become divided in consequence of an indulgence in these practices, but the fact that they are recognized and form a part of the social system of the Santal is incontestable."*

The elder brother has by no means the same privileges as younger brothers, a familiar saying being.—"The younger

*Notes on fraternal polyandry among the Santals, by Mr. C. H. Craven and the Revd. L. O. Skrefsrud, J.A.S.B. Part III, 1903, pp. 83-90.

brother's wife (*Bokot bahu*) is like a *bonga* or god." From the day of her marriage, a younger brother's wife and his elder brother (*dadat*) must never so much as touch one another; they cannot enter the same room or remain together in the courtyard unless others are present. Should she come in from work in the fields, and find the elder brother sitting alone in the courtyard, she must remain in the village street, or in another verandah of the house till some other people enter the house. She may not loosen or comb her hair before the elder brother; to do so would be considered highly improper, and would imply that the relations between them had become much too familiar. She cannot usually sit down in his presence, and it is most improper for her to take a seat on a *parkom* or bed while he is close by. Should it be necessary for her to sit down while he is near, she must use a *gando* or low stool.*

The following explanation by Mr. Bodding of the relations of brothers and their wives is of interest as illustrating the Santal family life:—"The first thing to be taken into consideration is the basis of the Santal matrimony, viz., the husband's rights of property. A Santal buys his wife, or rather the father buys wives for his sons, if he is living; and that this is real business is shown by many circumstances, besides the fact that a bride-price is paid, of which I shall mention only one. When at the marriage the bride has been brought to her future home and her friends and relations are going to take leave, the *lumti budhi*† says to her:—"Now remain, my girl; this is your house, this is the place where you shall go out and in. Eat and work industriously. Don't long for us; this is your house (or home) for life. Both bones and ashes did we sell you." The meaning of the last expression is that whether alive or dead she will thenceforth belong to and be the property of her husband.

When she becomes the property of her husband, his younger brothers, because they stand in a quasi-filial relation to him, seem also to get some rights in her together with him. A result of this is probably the circumstance mentioned above that the younger brothers are allowed such liberties with the

**Notes on fraternal polyandry among the Santals*, by Mr. C. H. Craven and the Revd. L. O. Skreftsrud, J.A.S.B. Part III, 1903, pp. 88-90.

†The *lumti budhi* is the duenna who follows the bride to the house of the bridegroom, and is generally a relation of the bride's father, but other people may officiate as such.

wife of the elder one, and another custom, that in case the elder brother dies, the younger brother—if he wishes, for it is not enforced—takes the widow as his wife (or co-wife, if he has one before), without, however, going through any marriage ceremonies. They have already paid for her, they say; she belongs to the family.

“Further, an elder brother, especially the eldest one, is looked upon as the representative of the father, and after his death is the head and governor of the family. For this reason there are, in fact, some Santals who look on the wife of their eldest brother as equal to their mother and pay her respect accordingly. But it must be borne in mind that this is only individualistic and not the general custom. I mention it only to show the feelings of the better Santals towards their elder brother, especially when there is some considerable difference in age between them. In case the father is dead, an elder brother manages the affairs of the household, and will have to buy the wife for his younger brother. The result of this position of an elder brother is that he is considered legally equal to a father-in-law of the wife of his younger brother.”

DIVORCE.

The old *gurus* say that in the good old days only two causes brought about divorce, viz., unfaithfulness on the part of the wife and witchcraft. Now-a-days it is otherwise; if the married couple do not live peaceably, divorce is soon resorted to, and even a woman may demand divorce if the man takes another wife. If a woman is proved, to the satisfaction of the Santal sense of justice to be a witch the proceedings are very simple. Without any ceremonies the husband, supported by the people of his village, takes the woman and makes her over to her parents or nearest male relatives, himself keeping all the children. The bride-price is not paid back, and if there is a daughter the mother does not get the customary piece of cloth at the daughter's marriage. This kind of divorce is now nearly obsolete. The regular divorce (called *sakam arach*, i.e., literally, leaf tearing) is performed in the following way:—The villagers meet together, led by the *manjhis* of the two villages concerned. A *lota* with water is placed on the ground, and husband and wife are made to stand facing one another, one on each side of the *lota*, the man facing the east. The headman of the husband's village then exhorts the man as follows:—“By the grace of Sing Bonga, the

five mountain spirits and the ancestors, we, the people, took omens from the *urich* bird on the right side and the *ere* bird on the left, and tied you together and joined you together with marriage chains like the *lar* and the *bando* climbers (two large and strong forest vines). We did not join you together for one day, but for ever and aye, like stone and rock, till you became hoary and moss-grown. Now it is no fault of ours, but if you cannot be united, what can we the people do? Now, therefore, both of you think well and reflect carefully in your hearts; otherwise you may at some future day say that the people made you separate. You, if you really want to renounce her, call on Sing Bonga, the five mountain spirits and the ancestors, and tear the leaves, or else tear them not."

The man is then made to stand on his left leg, facing the sun and with his hands in a suppliant posture. Thereupon they give him three *sal* (*Shorea robusta*) leaves. He takes them and, with his cloth twisted round his neck, salutes Sing Bonga and tears the leave with a jerk. Then he turns round and kicks the *lota* over with his right foot, and renounces any further connection with the woman. The man salutes all those present, commencing with the *manjhi*; the woman does the same. If the leaves are not torn straight, there is an idea that the pair will come together again. If all the water in the *lota* is not spilt, the idea is the same; it is thought that there is probably still some love left. In any case, in spite of their being divorced in this world, they will meet again in the world to come.

The act just described is the final one. Before it is performed, they go through more or less protracted judicial proceedings with full settlement of claims of the parties, the laws regulating which are briefly as follows. If a man divorces his wife for no fault of hers, he has to pay her divorce damages (*chhadaodi*)—now-a-days generally Rs. 5—besides which, he cannot claim to have the bride-price refunded. He has further to give the woman one cow, one *bandi* of paddy (about 12 maunds, valued at Rs. 5 according to the old price of paddy), one brass cup and one cloth. All this is now generally commuted to money and amounts to Rs. 7. The children belong to and go with the father, but if there is a babe at the breast, the mother keeps it till it can go to the father, when the woman, in return for her trouble in feeding and looking after it, gets 16 maunds of paddy and one cloth. If the mother

has had special expenses caused by the child's illness, they are refunded to her.

If the woman is at fault, the man gets the bride-price repaid, and the woman gets nothing. If she has committed adultery, the co-respondent will have to pay double the bride-price and keep the woman, who is generally given into the man's custody by the *panchayat*. If the man consents to keep his wife, he gets from the co-respondent Rs. 5 "to cleanse the vessel," and Rs. 5 "to save the head, *i.e.*, life." Formerly the husband tracked the guilty pair down and killed them both.

If a man has taken a second wife, the first and real wife can demand divorce. Formerly a second wife was taken, with the consent of the first wife, only when the latter was barren or so feeble as not to be able to do her household work. The man in this case does not get any of the bride-price back, but has, on the contrary, to give his divorced wife something. Formerly he gave her a cow, a *bandi* of paddy, a cloth and a brass cup, and this custom is still kept up if the pair have after their marriage managed to acquire some property; otherwise the gift merely consists of Rs. 5 as damages, a cloth and a brass cup, the total value of which is about Rs. 7. At the time of divorce the people on both sides go very carefully into all the accounts, and the sum paid may in some cases be small or apparently very large.

The Santals, like other tribes in the same state of development, look upon marriage as naturally necessary. The people always try to get their children married as soon as they can afford it, so as to get them settled in life. Practically the only unmarried people are those physically unfit for marriage—and it is no easy matter for them to be certified unfit. The young people are not permitted to make one another's acquaintance before marriage if they do not happen to know each other already. Love is not an essential thing in a Santal marriage, and has nothing to do with the arrangement of a regular marriage. As a matter of fact, marriage is practically a leap into the dark, and it is a wonder that it turns out as well as it often does. It may, however, happen that the affections of one or other are already engaged, or become engaged later on, in a wrong quarter; or there may be incompatibility of temper. In these cases, if the man is at fault, the wife will be neglected, and as soon as she finds this out, she will run off to her old home. If the woman's affections have strayed, she will similarly seize the first opportunity to run home on the smallest

pretext, for it will generally be found that she has a lover in or near her old village. If the married couple are not reconciled, a divorce will ensue within the first few years, but comparatively seldom afterwards. If they have got children, the chances are that they will become gradually attached, and a kind of genuine conjugal love may be found between old couples. If they have settled down quietly, conjugal fidelity is the rule; but in this respect the men are better than the women.

When a Santal is dying, the door of his house is kept open, in order that his spirit may leave it and not haunt the family residence. After death, the body is taken to place where two roads meet, at the end of the village street, and is lamented over by the womenfolk. From this place it is taken to the place of burning, which is preferably the bank of a *bandh* or pond belonging to the deceased; if there is no such *bandh* or pond, then to the bank of a stream, for cremation always takes place near water. The pyre is built north and south, the logs being kept together by four poles, one at each corner, and the head being placed towards the south. Before the body is placed on the pyre, the male relatives of the deceased—for only the men come here—wash his hands, feet and face, and pour a little water in his mouth. Then he is carried thrice round the pyre and put on the top. The clothes and everything else that he had on his body are taken away, and also all the articles sent with the corpse, which are sold by auction later. The body is covered with a branch, and four pieces of wood are put across it. A fowl is taken round the pyre thrice, and is finally nailed to the south-west corner pole, *i.e.*, the pole at the left side of the head. Then the nearest relative takes a bit of sedge, wraps a bit of the fringe of the dead man's clothes round it, kindles it, and with averted face places it with the left hand on the mouth of the corpse. After this, all the relatives, and then the others, throw a branch of firewood on the pyre, and proceed to kindle it. The people sit at a distance and watch the body being consumed, and they are all shaved.

When the cremation is over, the relatives go and pick up the bones (a bit of the skull, of the collar bone and of one of the bigger bones), wash them, pouring turmeric, water and milk over them, and put them in a new pot. This is covered with a potsherd with a hole in it (a breathing hole for the dead), in which they insert a special kind of grass for the spirit to go out and in on. The rest of the bones and the ashes are thrown into the water, a winnowing fan is placed

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upside down on the site of the pyre, and standing on this the carriers of the body dig round it, the last digger hacking at the fan. Cow-dung is then mixed with water in a cup, and the mixture sprinkled all over the place where the body has been. The pot with the bones is buried outside the village. Thereupon all bathe, and before they enter the village cense themselves with *sal* resin. The articles sent with the dead body are auctioned off the same day, and from the proceeds a goat is bought and eaten by all except those belonging to the dead man's house. Now-a-days the men generally go and drink with the proceeds.

Five days afterwards there is a ceremony called *tel nahan*. The villagers assemble at the dead man's house and shave. Then they go and bathe, the men to one place, the women to another. The men take with them a little earth (used as soap), oilcake, oil, three *sal* twigs (used as tooth-brushes) and a couple of leaves. The men put these at the water's edge on three separate leaves, and offer all with the left hand, first to the dead, then to Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Budhi. The last two are invoked to take the dead man under their care. Having returned to the house three persons are "possessed," one by the dead man, who is asked how he departed this world and declares whether he died a natural death or not. After this, there is some drinking. The bones are now brought, put into a bag made of the dead man's clothes, taken out by a couple of men and carried over the boundary of the village. They are then brought back, put into another pot and hung up in the house, to be taken later on to the Damodar river.

Whilst these men are away, the others sit down to eat; a leaf cup with rice, a cup with curry, and a third cup with water are hung in sling close to where the person died. The people of the house pretend to eat with the left hand, a thing they never do ordinarily, for to use the left hand is considered the worst of bad manners. At this time the village people sprinkle water over their persons with a *khas-khas* root; this purifies them religiously. Next morning they look to see whether the dead person has eaten the food hung up for him. If any remains of food are found, it is a sure sign that he has eaten; otherwise he has not. There is no fixed time for taking the bones to the Damodar river. It should strictly be done at once; but the distance to be traversed makes it difficult to do so. The journey is therefore postponed to a convenient season, and till many can go together: generally, they go in December.

Along the river there are several *ghats*, where the relative who has brought the bones offers earth and tooth-brushes to the departed and to Pilchu Haram and Budhi, after he has thrown the bones, etc., into the river. He goes into deep water and, facing east, dives; whilst under the water he lets the bones go. The finale is the *bhandan*, a great feast with a sacrifice to the dead. When this is over, the mourners can resume their ordinary life; but till then they can neither sacrifice, nor use *sindur*, nor marry, etc.

The law of succession among the Santals may be most simply gathered from two articles printed by the Rev. A. Campbell and Rev. P. O. Boddington in the journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, September 1915 and September 1916. The law relating to the position of widows and daughters is very clearly stated in a note of Mr. Bompas who was the Deputy Commissioner of the district for six years. A portion of this note is reproduced at page 123 of Sir Hugh McPherson's Settlement Report. The family share all they have in common till the death of the father, when the property is divided equally among the sons, except that the eldest son gets a bullock and a rupee more than the others. The daughters have no right to any of the property, the idea being that a woman does not inherit, for she is expected to marry and to be supported by her husband and her sons. What she gets is a gift, customary and therefore demandable, but it is not inherited. If a man dies without sons or daughters, the property passes to the father, if he is alive, and if he is dead, to the brothers of the deceased by the same father (not necessarily by the same mother); if the latter are dead, their sons will succeed. In default of these, the deceased's paternal uncles and their sons succeed. The widow of a childless man is allowed one calf, one *bandi* (10 to 12 maunds) of paddy, one *bati* and one cloth, and returns to her parents' house, unless, as sometimes happens, she is kept by her husband's younger brothers. If one of these keeps her, he is not allowed more than the one share of the deceased man's property, which he would get in any case. If a man leaves only daughters, their paternal grandfather and uncles take charge of them and of the widow, and the property remains in their possession. When the daughters grow up, it is the duty of these relatives to arrange marriages for them, and to give them at marriage the presents which they would have received from their father. When all the daughters have been disposed of, the widow gets the perquisites

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of a childless widow and goes to her father's house or lives with her daughters. A widow with minor sons keeps all the property in her own possession, the grandfather and uncles seeing that she does not waste it. If the widow remarries before the sons are married, the grandfather and uncles take possession of all the property; the mother of the children has no right to get anything, but sometimes a calf is given to her out of kindness, this gift being called *bhandkar*. The rules against female succession are now changing owing to the force of public opinion towards ameliorating the condition of women and giving them a secured footing in family. During the course of Revision Settlement operations (1922-1935) daughters of deceased Santals have been recorded as heirs not only without opposition but at their request. As regards widows, they have been recorded as heirs of their deceased husbands and in some cases as *khorphoshdars* in respect of certain plots of land sufficient for maintenance. There are special rules in cases of adoption of a *ghar-jamai*, which is a formal proceeding leaving no room for doubt as to the father-in-law's intention of giving him all the rights of a son and resulting in the *ghar-jamai* cutting off all connection with his own family as far as his right to property is concerned and becoming to all intents and purposes the son of his father-in-law. When the father-in-law dies, such a son-in-law succeeds. If there is more than one such son-in-law, they divide the property between them.

PARTITION.

If there are many grandsons, or if the sons do not live happily together, especially if the father has married again and had other issue, the father and mother may make a partition. A *panchayat* is called and the father divides all the land and cattle, keeping one share for himself. The son with whom the parents live retains possession of their share during their lifetime. Daughters get no share in the property, but if they are unmarried, they get one calf each, that being the dowry given them at marriage. Unmarried sons get a double share of the live stock, one share representing their marriage expenses. The cattle which the daughters-in-law received from their fathers and brothers and from their fathers-in-law at the time of marriage are not divided, but the cattle which the sons got at marriage are divided. If a woman dies while her sons are unmarried, they cannot demand a partition even if their father takes a second wife, but they can do so if they like after marriage. The father

then gets one share and the sons one share each. If the second wife has no children when the father dies, the sons of the first wife can take the share their father got, but if they take it they will have to pay for the funeral of their step-mother.

The most noticeable development among the Santals is ^{THE} what is known as the Kharwar or Kherwar movement. ^{KHARWAR} It ^{MOVE-} appears to have been first noticed in 1871, when its leader ^{MENT.} was one Bhagrit of Taldiha—the name appears to be a corruption of Bhagirath, and the title of *babaji* which he bore was also borrowed from the Hindus. From accounts given by Santals at the present time the methods pursued by Bhagrit were as follows. In the early morning he gave audience; the people came to him, each bringing a leaf-cup full of sundried rice (not the ordinary rice boiled before husking), milk in a *lota*, a bit of betel-nut and one pice. This was all placed before the *babaji*, who listened to what they had to say, but kept quiet till all had put in their petitions. Bhagrit would then harangue them much as follows:—"You have now brought your petitions to me; I shall lay them before God (Chando). All will be well with anyone whose petition pleases God; if it does not, he must come again. Come twice, thrice, or even oftener; make your petitions to me, and I shall pray to Him for you. You must also continue to pray to Him, and then you will reap the benefit. If anyone is in serious trouble, he must keep watch throughout the night."

The following morning, before sunrise, he asked the people whether they had kept watch. If they said that they had slept, he scolded them, saying that they had come only to eat. If they said they had watched, he asked them whether they had seen Chando come down and heard him talk with Bhagrit. This, of course, was news to them, and they were treated to a new harangue, Bhagrit charging them with lying and telling them that it was their own fault that they got no help. Then he started preaching to them, the subject matter of his address being very much the same as that of the ten commandments of the Christians. He charged them to live by his precepts and not to let evil come into their lives, otherwise they would not get God's blessing.

As time went on, his style of preaching was somewhat altered, probably because the people did not attain their wishes, and the attendance fell off. He had to find something to explain the one and counteract the other. He now

said that all evil had to be purged out, and all should come to him with one heart. "We or our fathers have sinned utterly ('sixteen annas'); when our sins are fully atoned for, we shall be the owners of the country." In course of time he collected a good deal of money, of which he and his helpers kept most. Then came the famine of 1874 in spite of all his promises. When Burma rice was imported, Bhagrit told the people that now they could see how God was working for them. The Sahibs were afraid. The rice which they brought was rice formerly given by the Santals to the *bongas*, and now brought back under some pretext. It was for the Santals to eat, but they must be very careful not to let fowls or pigs pollute it, and they should bathe daily and then cook their food. This, it will be noted, is a Hinduistic touch. Now, if they were only careful, was the time for them to get the land. In Sido's and Kanru's time, *i.e.*, in the Santal rebellion, it had been God's desire to give the country to the Santals; but they had sinned, especially in having relations with women of other races, and so God had refused to help them. Now they must act otherwise and cleanse themselves. After this, the people commenced to kill their pigs and fowls; but they were generally wise enough to eat them. From this time the followers of Bhagrit appear to have taken the name of Kharwar.

The people who were under Bhagrit's influence thought that the rice imported into the famine-stricken areas was a free gift. They carted it from the distributing centres to their villages; before they took it into the village street, they sacrificed and ate a black goat at its entrance. After this they took the rice to the *manjhithan*, divided it according to their numbers, and commenced cooking in Hindu style. When the time came for paying back the Government advances, they began to disbelieve Bhagrit. He still tried to delude them, but was arrested and imprisoned, and for the time being the movement collapsed.

Bhagrit had several imitators, who were also called *babaji*, or in some cases *guru*, and worked much as he did. Several of them told the people that they had been commissioned by God to work for a certain time, *e.g.*, three or five years; when that period expired, they ceased working. It is clear that most of them had come into contact with Christianity. They declared that they did not cure people,

but God did. Only those who believed were healed, and doubters would not benefit in any way. The people must live a clean life and not use filthy language. Some of the *babajis* started regular meetings for the people on Sundays, and prohibited Sunday labour for them and their cattle. They further directed the people to be kind to their animals, not to strike them on the head or on the bones (otherwise they would cry to God, who would punish the offenders), and to leave pasture grounds for them. One of them introduced Rama, the Hindu deity, identifying him with God. At the end of his Sunday meeting harangue he called out with all his might: "*Ram Chando duhai*," and all those present did the same. Some, but only a minority, gave the movement a political aspect by instigating the people to refuse payment of rent for their holdings, on the ground that land which they had reclaimed from waste belonged solely to them. Nearly all these and later *babajis* appeared first in the vicinity of Godda and thence spread southwards and eastwards. It is also noticeable that the strange rumours which sometimes pass through the country seem to emanate from the same quarter.

Little was heard of the movement after the imprisonment of some of its leaders, but it revived in 1880, largely owing to the preaching of one Dubia Gosain, who is said to have appeared from somewhere near Deoghar and was more Hinduistic than others of his class. He commanded the Santals to kill their pigs and fowls and to conform to Hindu customs. He claimed divine authority, and obtained no little influence owing to letters containing his commands being circulated far and wide. Considerable excitement and a spirit of smouldering disaffection ensued among the Santals, always on the look-out for supernatural manifestations. This excitement, as related in Chapter II, led to some disturbances at the census of 1881, but the arrest of the *babaji* and the vigorous measures taken by Government prevented more serious trouble. Subsequently, in 1891, the Kharwars appear again to have taken advantage of the census to frighten other Santals and to spread mischievous rumours in the Rajmahal subdivision. It was stated, for instance, that the English Raj was to come to an end, the Kharwars would rule in their stead, and no rent would be paid; that all Santals except the Kharwars would be made Christians; that the soil of the country being dark belonged to the dark-skinned people and

not to the white men, who would go back to their own country, where the soil was white.

In 1897 there was a pronounced and widespread recrudescence of the Kharwar movement during the hard times the people had to go through. Several Hindu practices have been introduced in the later phases of the movement, and one marked feature is the worship of the *babajis*. Some of them and of their followers profess to be vegetarians, but they do not insist that others should adopt the same diet, though they recommend it. A *babaji* forbade all filthy language and insisted on addressing all, even children, as father and mother. People soon began to resort to him, and so many flocked to him that he could not attend to all personally. Then he declared that he had received a command from God that the people were to use earth, *dhubi* grass (*Cynodon dactylon*) and cow-dung ashes, which would be blessed if they obeyed his commandments. These articles were divided into three parts, which were kept separate. One part had to be either drunk (mixed in water) or applied externally as the case might be. Another part had to be given to the cattle to make them give milk. A third part was to bring personal prosperity, and to be used according to instructions given, viz., it was to be mixed in water in a certain way and sprinkled all over the house wherever the inmates had or used or did anything. When taking it home, they had to be very careful not to pollute it in any way; they had also to eat it from clean utensils and after washing. The articles used have a symbolic meaning, and are not regarded as medicines.

In this connection, it may be remarked that the Santals instinctively feel the importance of symbolical action. In 1907, for instance, when there were a number of *babajis* in the south of the Santal Parganas, their disciples could be seen running, but never walking, from place to place; this was a symbolic action intended to impress the necessity of haste. Again, if a woman comes to a *babaji* to be delivered from the *bongas*—for a *babaji*, though not a witch-finder, professes to cure a confessed witch—he proceeds in a semi-symbolic way. It would take too much space to describe in detail how the *babaji* finds out the truth. Briefly, the woman confesses to having had sexual intercourse with a great number of *bongas* (in one case, it is said, the woman mentioned as many as 127 male *bongas*, each separately by

name) during the confession the *babaji*, as a preliminary measure, draws figures on the ground, muttering *mantras*, spitting on the figures and wiping them out; after a night's preparation, he gives the woman a twig with which she draws figures on the ground according to his instructions, one to represent each of the *bongas* with whom she has lived; finally the *babaji* makes the woman break off her connexion with each *banga*, and she repeats after him a long list of abusive epithets for each and every *bonga*, winding up with spitting and trampling on the figures.

A *babaji* pretends to be a prophet, an intermediary between the supernatural and the material world, and is at times taken by the people at his own valuation. The result is that those who believe in him, resort to him to get relief or help when they have lost faith in their ordinary everyday remedies. The village which a *babaji* makes his headquarters is generally full of people who want a cure for all kinds of diseases and frailties, either for themselves, or for their relatives or their cattle. One has an obstinate sore, another has epilepsy, a third has a cough, a fourth has ringworm. One wants a remedy to prevent his children dying off as they are born; the wife of another never gets any children at all; a third has a confessed witch for a wife, etc. And the *babaji* is expected to be able to help each and every one of them. Politics do not play any great part at this stage, but may come in later as a result of the *babaji's* teachings.

The *babajis* appear in some cases to have a lucrative profession. Bhagrit certainly made money; at first he was pleased to receive only copper; later on he admonished the people to bring silver—then their applications would be granted sooner! Others, however, have used the money they got to help the people, *e.g.*, Bariar *babaji* did not receive money. The people threw it on the ground before him; and when his levee was over, he used to ask whose money had been lost. As no one answered, he said that he had no authority (*i.e.*, no divine command) to take money, called the village policeman and ordered him to give it to the blind, the halt and the sick who had come, and also to buy them food; he was not, however, to give it to anyone who had money with which to buy food.

The Kharwar movement seems to have been originally of a religious character. The Santal traditions assert that their ancestors had no *bongas*, but worshipped God alone. They

are conscious that they have become degraded by giving up their purer belief, *e.g.*, the old *gurus* will despairingly ask what can be the reason why God has punished them and permitted them to lead a vagrant life, moving like the silk-worm, from place to place, without any abiding home. In ordinary years a Santal will not give much heed to such thoughts; but the dormant memory of God is more or less awakened when anything extraordinary happens to the people as a whole (*e.g.*, famine or scarcity), or when things happen to the individual which are not explained by the malign influence of *bongas* or witches, or do not yield to ordinary remedies. In such contingencies, they are apt to think they will improve their lot by altering or reforming their religious practices and beliefs. This also explains the spasmodic character of the movement. In times of comparative plenty or prosperity very little is heard of it; during times of famine or scarcity the movement revives, but very little was heard at the time of famine of 1919 of any fresh activity on the part of the Kharwars. This goes to show that the sect is losing ground. The movement is not, however, dead; it has during latter years undergone certain developments and the followers of this sect have divided themselves into three separate groups, viz., Sapai, Samra and the *babajin* or *babaji*, the last division representing the original sect. A common practice for all three sects is that they worship Ram Chando. Ram is a Hindu deity and Chando is Santali for sun, but also used about the God of the Universe. The following are some of the practices and fresh developments of the Sapai and Samra sects.

The Sapai.—They have adopted the Hindu custom of daily bathing. Some of them take their bath at sunrise; facing the sun they worship with the palm of their hands pressed together. Others are not so particular about the morning bath, so long as they get their bath during the day. Some of them are particular about performing their worship before they touch food in the morning, even cold food left over from the previous evening meal. The men only worship. The food which they partake of first in the morning must not have been prepared by women. Later in the day, they may eat food prepared by women. The women every morning plaster a circular spot with cowdung in the middle of the courtyard and also at the entrance from the village street. They take care not to be seen during this

operation. Some of their women have taken up the habit of lighting a lamp every evening after sunset and they worship with this in their hand turning to the four corners of the world. They do not keep fowls and pigs and do not eat these. Some of them do not use cows for ploughing. They do not drink rice-beer (what the Santals call *handi*), do not eat the flesh of dead bullocks and do not eat in the house of a Santal who does not belong to their sect. At the name-giving festival which is an obligatory village festival among the Santals where the headman and other village officials have to be present, the Sapai do not call in any outsiders, but perform the ceremony amongst themselves, only people of their own sect being present. They act in the same way at marriages. When any of their sect dies, some burn the dead and others bury.

The Samras.—The Samras meet their local leader once a week at night. All who come bring sugar and sweets and give these over to their leader. They then tell him of the state of their household, where there is any sickness among themselves or their cattle. When all are together the leader makes supplications to Ram Chando with reference to every individual's troubles and prays that all may become well. In the middle of the place where they are sitting, they plaster a small circular spot on the floor with cow-dung. Here they place the sugar and sweets which they have brought and then start singing. When they finish, they divide amongst themselves the sweets they have brought and then go to their respective houses.

If any one wants to enter Samra sect, he is told that they are willing to receive him but on certain conditions. The applicant will have to give up the *bongas* (spirits) and behave as he is told and worship according to their custom. If he has faith and is willing to behave as demanded it will be well with him. "We tell you beforehand" they say, "if you see the truth of this faith, then in the name of Ram Chando give contributions as much as you can, whatever it may be, sugar, sweets or money. When you give such we shall from that day take you into our sect." When the applicant complies, the leader takes the things given and invokes Ram Chando saying "Now thou seest, this man also has seen your reliability and is from today entering among us. Help him and rescue him from all disease and sickness". After this innovation, he sprinkles *Tulsi* water on the man's

head, whereupon they all divide the sweets among themselves and tell the man that that day they have taken him up into their congregation.

It is noticeable that on its religious side the movement has shown a tendency to Hinduism. Its early followers called themselves Sapha Har, *i.e.*, the pure men, and eschewed fowls, pigs and intoxicating liquor, but took *ganja*. One still meets Santals who call themselves Sapha Har, wear their hair in long matted tresses, and claim that they worship Mahadeo and never kill animals except as a sacrifice. At the same time, there seems little doubt that the extraneous ideas which have from the first given vitality to this movement are Christian. Several of the *babajis* have been pervert Christians, and the first, Bhagrit, either had been a Christian or at any rate had been in a Christian school.

The fact that the Kharwar movement has sometimes had a political aspect is probably caused by the circumstance that when the Santals start thinking of the old days, they conceive of them as a golden age with absolute freedom and happiness. If, they argue, they revert to their old ways, why should not their old freedom come back, with no foreigners to harass them or take rent from them? The result is that the Kharwars have at times claimed to be an independent race from whom no rent is due for land which they or their ancestors have cleared. This is not altogether surprising, for the Santals are not yet civilized enough to understand the machinery of Government. Their rent is paid to the zamindar, and they do not believe that any of it is expended for the public good. They consider that they, as the clearers of the land, have an exclusive right to enjoy the fruits of their labours.

To explain certain phases of the movement the following may be mentioned. If an idea gets hold of a Santal crowd, they cease to reason and will go to any extreme in pursuing it; but, on the other hand, the individual Santal does not feel much, if any, personal responsibility or a specific personal interest. The ordinary Santal is courageous enough behind a drum or a common leader; as soon as the latter disappears, there will be a general collapse. Thus, a *babaji* with a political propaganda may be dangerous to the public peace; but as soon as he disappears very little more is heard of the movement.

CHAPTER V.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

The diseases most commonly met with in the district are Principal malarial fevers, bowel complaints, hookworm, influenza, diseases, ophthalmia, cholera, small-pox and skin diseases. Filariar conditions prevail on the borders of the district of Birbhum.

Malarial fevers are prevalent before and after the rains Fevers. and are especially common in the low lying country bordering the Ganges, and in the Damin-i-koh portion of the Godda and Pakaur subdivisions, in localities where, the drainage being defective, the land is apt to become water-logged and water remains stagnant in hollows and depressions. The greatest number of deaths occur in the Godda subdivision and next to Godda is Dumka and Deoghar. According to Major Pereira who was Civil Surgeon of the district, this is due to jungles near habitations as jungles afford protection to Anopheles mosquitoes. The type most commonly met with is intermittent fever, but remittent cases are fairly numerous at the close of rainy season. Eruptive fevers, such as small-pox, measles and chicken-pox are endemic throughout the district and sometimes become epidemic during the hot months preceding the rains. Mortality caused by fever is not very high in this district. From 1892 to 1904, the death-rate was above 20 per cent per mille in only 4 years. In each of the succeeding three years which were years of bad crops the death-rate was 25 per mille and in 1908 it was as high as 30 per mille. From 1909 to 1917 the death-rate was above 20 per mille only in years 1911, 1915, 1916 and 1917. In 1918 it was 32 per mille and in the famine year of 1919 it was as 37 per mille and out of 70,077 deaths, 2,518 were attributed to influenza. In 1920 and 1921, the death rate was 21 per mille but since 1922, it has always been below 20 per mille and was as low as 14 per mille in 1933.

Epidemics of Cholera break out from time to time beginning with the hot weather and ending with the rains. Cholera. The subdivisions of Dumka, Deoghar, Godda and Rajmahal suffer

most. The worst epidemics on record are those of the following years:—

Year.	No. of deaths from cholera.
1897	7,107 or 4 per mille.
1906	6,160 or 3.4 per mille.
1908	9,406 or 5.2 per mille.
1919	7,326 or 3.8 per mille.

The years 1897 and 1919 were years of famine and the years 1906 to 1908 were years of successive bad harvests. Cholera also broke out in epidemic form in parts of the district in the years 1916, 1934, and 1935 and carried off 3,274, 3,127 and 3,542 persons, respectively; the Deoghar subdivisions was the worst sufferer.

Small-
pox.

In the Gazetteer published in 1910, Mr. O'Malley wrote, "There are small outbreaks of small-pox every year, but the death-rate since the present system of mortuary returns was introduced has never been as high as 1 per mille except in 1903, when 2,986 persons died representing 106 per mille of the population."

Since then the number of deaths from small-pox exceeded 1,000 only in the following years:—

Year.	No. of deaths.
1916	1,074
1926	1,149
1927	1,869
1928	1,356
1935	1,434

The Godda subdivision was the worst sufferer during the years 1916, 1928 and 1935 and Pakaur during the years 1926 and 1927. The average death-rate during the years was only 598.

Plague.

In the Gazetteer published in 1910, Mr. O'Malley wrote, "The first outbreak of plague in this district occurred early in 1901 in Sahebganj, where it had been imported from Monghyr through the Marwaris of the town. The only other outbreak was in the municipal town of Deoghar, and the total number of deaths in the year was only 219. This is the worst epidemic, the district has yet suffered from, the total number of deaths in the six years 1902—07 being only 222."

Plague existed in the town of Sahebganj up till the year 1921 and since then the district is free from plague. The

number of deaths from plague exceeded 12 only in the years 1912—15 and 1918—21, and was as below :—

Year.				No. of deaths.
1912	...	...	...	66
1913	...	...	...	108
1914	...	...	...	40
1915	...	...	...	88
1918	...	...	...	88
1919	...	...	...	50
1920	...	...	...	35
1921	...	...	...	162

Attacks of dysentery are fairly numerous throughout the district particularly during the rains. Influenza appear in epidemic form very frequently, in some cases attacking almost every member of a village. Ophthalmia is also prevalent; the number of blind persons recorded at the census increased from 418 in 1891 to 2,066 in 1901, the number, however, came down to 1,568 at the 1931 census. Skin diseases particularly scabies, are common among the children during the cold season, presumably owing to want of care and cleanliness. Other diseases.

The deaths rates from fever in 1934, 1935 and 1936 were 18.1, 18.3 and 15.1 respectively in the Santal Parganas district. The number of deaths in 1936 from cholera was 836 and that from small-pox 2,551. Hook worm was prevalent in the district and filarial conditions existed on the borders of the Birbhum district in 1936. Vaccination.

The Bengal Vaccination Act (V of 1880) was not declared to be in force in the district under section 3(3) of Regulation III of 1872. It was, however, extended by notifications under section 1 of the Act itself to the following areas :—

Area.	No. of notification.	Date.
1. Deoghar Municipality	Nil.	9th April 1884.
2. Sahebganj Municipality.		
3. Rajmahal Town Municipality.		
4. Madhupur Municipality.	No. 1393-San	22nd August 1910.
5. Dumka Municipality	No. 1399-San	3rd August 1910.

The Act was declared to be in force in the district under notification no. 898-J., dated the 13th February 1931. Subsequently the Act as also the Bengal Vaccination (Amendment)

Act II of 1911 was extended to the areas noted below by notifications noted against each.

Area.	Notification no. and date.
Towns of Deoghar, Sahibganj, Madhupur and Dumka.	No. 9493-L.S.-G., and 9494-L.S.G., dated the 21st November 1931.
Godda town including villages Godda, Sarotia, Asanbani, Bhatdiha, Gangtia, Gansimal, Garhighat, Shibpur and Raotara.	No. 9495-L. S.-G., and 9496-L. S.-G., dated the 21st November 1931.
Pakaur town including villages Pakaur, Harindanga, Tantipara, Bagdipara, Korapara, Kalikapur, Baliharpur, Aligunj, Gokulpur, Dhanukpuja, Gobindpur, Mahuadanga, Nandipara, and Balarampur chak.	No. 9497-L.S.-G. and 9498-L.S.-G., dated the 21st November 1931.
Jamtara town including villages Jamtara, Panredih, Dhandra, Gaichand Sahana, Raniganj, Tilabad, Paikdih, and Sarkheldih.	No. 9499-L.S.-G. and 9500-L.S.-G., dated the 21st November 1931.
Rajmahal town.	No. 9501-L.S.-G. and 9502-L.S.-G., dated the 21st November 1931.

Vaccination is on the whole regarded favourably by the aboriginal races—not that they have much faith in it, but because it is the wish of Government. From 1898-99 to 1906-07, calf vaccination was willingly accepted by them, but there was a considerable prejudice against it on the part of the Hindus particularly the Pandas of Deoghar. A number of the old vaccinators resigned their appointments rather than vaccinate from the calf. From 1907-08 to 1913-14, Lanoline lymph was supplied from Darjeeling and Calcutta and from 1914-15 Glycerine lymph is supplied free from the Government Vaccine Depot, Namkum (Ranchi). Vaccination has since gained in popularity. The total number of operations performed during the year 1936-37 was 47,893 primary and 34,275 revaccinations. The percentage of successful vaccination was 95.11 in primary and 11.65 in revaccinations. The rate of infant protection in the district was 424, 60 per thousand during the year 1936-37.

The table below shows the public charitable dispensaries in existence in 1936 and the number of beds in each.

Medical
Institu-
tions.

Name.	Class.	Year of Establish- ment.	Number of beds.	
			Men.	Women.
Deoghar	IIIA	1864 ...	28	8
Dumka	IIIA	1865 ...	25	11
Rajmahal	IV	1865 ...	7	5
Godda	IV	1865 ...	6	2
Benagaria Mission ...	V(ii)	1874 ...	30	30
Jamtara	IV	1877 ...	8	8
Sahibganj	IIIB	3rd August 1877	16	6
Borio	IV	11th November 1891.	...	...
Katikund	IV	1st January 1893.	...	...
Asanbani	IIIB	9th September 1899.	...	...
Pakaur	IV	1st November 1898.	7	3
Amrapara	I	1905 ...	...	...
Barhait	I	1905 ...	...	...
Madhupur	V(i)	1906 ...	6	4
Maheshpur	V(i)	1908 ...	...	...
Sarath	IIIB	December 1923	...	...
Kundahit	IIIB	Ditto ...	...	...
Jarmundi	IIIB	1st May 1925...	...	...
Mahagama	IIIB	3rd August 1925	...	...
Barharwa	IIIB	16th February 1926.	...	...
Narainpur	IIIB	4th March 1926	...	...
Pakuria	IIIB	10th May 1926	...	...
Pareyahat	IIIB	11th April 1927	...	...

Name.	Class.	Year of Establishment.	Number of beds.	
			Men.	Women.
Hiranpur Mission Dispensary.	V(ii)	1st November 1929.	30	10
Sarwan	IIIB	25th July 1930	...	...

Of these dispensaries, the oldest is that at Deoghar which was opened in 1864 and is practically maintained by the Deoghar Municipality. It is located in a substantial pucca building with detached buildings for treatment of infectious cases. It is provided with quarters for the medical officer, Lady doctor, nurse, compounders and other menial staff. There is a separate female hospital within the compound constructed in 1914.

In 1865, dispensaries were established at the subdivisional headquarters of Dumka, Rajmahal and Godda. The Dumka hospital was originally located in a stone building to which a small cottage hospital with two beds for treatment of females was added in 1900 by the zamindar of Lakhanpur Rai Bahadur Sitab Chand Nahar. It was reconstructed during the years 1928—30 when the following buildings were constructed at a cost of Rs. 1,25,237 sanctioned by Government :—

	Rs.	
Outdoor building ...	16,743	
Indoor building ...	72,617	(A part is reserved for female patients.)
	...	
Infectious ward ...	10,175	
Quarters for nurse and mid-wife.	8,017	
Servants' quarters ...	2,383	
Sweepers' quarters ...	2,367	
Kitchen ...	1,367	
Latrine ...	950	
Well ...	2,766	
Total ...	1,25,237	

The hospital is also provided with quarters for the medical officer and the senior compounder.

The Godda dispensary was reconstructed in 1915. It is provided with quarters for the medical officer and the compounder within the dispensary premises. Midwife's quarters were constructed during 1935 and a new cholera ward is under construction.

The Rajmahal dispensary was originally located in the Akbarshahi Mosque on the bank of the Ganges. In 1912, the dispensary was removed to the new building constructed for the purpose and the mosque which belonged to the East Indian Railway authorities was on relinquishment by the Railway authorities handed over to the Muhammadan community of Rajmahal.

The dispensary at Jamtara was established in 1877. It was located in a small thatched building until 1895, when a masonry building took its place.

The Sahebganj dispensary was housed in a few dingy rooms in a native *sarai* till 1896, when the hospital buildings and a female ward were constructed.

In 1891, a dispensary was opened at Borio in Rajmahal Damin and the buildings were reconstructed in 1928.

In 1893, another dispensary was started at Katikund in the Dumka Damin. The dispensary is now located in corrugated shed constructed in 1907 partitioned by brick walls for quarters for the doctor.

In 1898, a dispensary was opened at the subdivisional headquarters of Pakaur, which supplied a long-felt want. The Raja had hitherto kept a public dispensary, but villagers of low caste were not encouraged to attend it for fear that they might carry contagion to the inmates of the palace, so the charity was not of as much benefit to the public as it might have been. Subsequently the Raja made over a building erected for an institute near the Cutchery for the new hospital.

In 1899, a dispensary was opened at Asanbani, the building and stock being the gift of Mr. Maling Grant, zamindar of the place. The District Committee, Santal Parganas, took charge of the dispensary and constructed new buildings for it in 1919 at a cost of Rs. 14,694.

In 1905, two class I dispensaries were opened at Amrapara and Barhait in the Damin-i-Koh Government Estates. The dispensary buildings of Barhait were reconstructed in 1925 and those of Amrapara in 1931.

In 1906, a private dispensary was started at Madhupur by Babu Balai Chand Dutt and in 1908 another private dispensary at Maheshpur was brought under Government supervision.

During the years 1923—27, dispensary buildings were constructed at Sarath, Kundahit, Jarmundi, Mahagama, Narainpur, Pakuria, Pareyahat and Hiranpur by the District Committee, Santal Parganas at a cost of Rs. 1,10,518 of which Rs. 1,06,742 was met out of a grant sanctioned by Government for the purpose. In 1929, a Mission dispensary was opened at Hiranpur and the dispensary building already constructed by the District Committee was converted into a Veterinary hospital. A dispensary building is under construction at Barharwa and land is being acquired for the construction of a building for the Sarwan dispensary.

Besides the dispensaries named above, there are two Railway dispensaries at Sahebganj and Madhupur. The Mission dispensaries at Benagaria maintained by the Santal Mission of Northern Churches and at Hiranpur maintained by the Church Missionary Society are doing excellent work. The Missionaries scattered over the district also treat the sick both at the Mission stations and in villages. It is satisfactory to note that the Santals, who used to regard a dispensary as the abode of devils and would not accept European treatment, now attend them in fair numbers, provided the Civil Hospital Assistant in charge is kind and sympathetic. The following table shows the receipts of and attendance at the dispensaries in 1935:—

Names of hospitals and dispensaries.	Balance on 1st January 1935.	Government contributions.	From local and municipal grants.	Subscription.	Other receipts.	Total receipts.	Total expenditure.	In-door patients local.	Out-door patients local.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		
Dumka ..	7,583	9,623	2,148	641	658	20,653	17,001	1,255	15,557
Deoghar ..	558	219	5,740	435	162	7,114	6,203	561	14,439
Sahebganj ..	925	34	5,170	864	236	7,229	5,774	222	12,394
Amrapara ..	3,752	2,592	..	108	89	6,541	2,684	..	7,402
Barhalt ..	2,527	2,833	..	89	115	5,064	2,532	..	9,891
Asanbani ..	672	14	1,463	169	263	2,581	2,095	..	5,930
Sarath ..	1,299	10	1,518	95	44	2,966	2,263	..	5,132

Names of hospitals and dispensaries.	Balance on 1st January 1935.	Government contributions.	From local and municipal grants.	Subscription.	Other receipts.	Total receipts.	Total expenditure.	In-door patients local.	Out-door patients local.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		
Jarmundi ..	2,103	110	2,000	5	47	4,265	1,977	..	6,712
Mahagama ..	3,965	24	2,260	101	214	6,564	2,656	..	5,617
Barharwa ..	4	24	2,181	101	121	2,431	2,296	..	7,320
Narainpur ..	248	23	2,164	65	33	2,533	2,188	..	7,216
Pakuria ..	1,042	114	2,302	115	195	3,768	2,316	..	7,314
Pareyhat ..	1,299	14	1,634	120	74	3,141	1,941	..	4,847
Sarwan ..	71	13	1,658	68	33	1,843	1,576	..	5,034
Godda ..	5,746	555	1,100	2,475	406	10,282	6,109	206	7,751
Rajmahal ..	635	1,085	405	851	81	3,057	2,429	109	9,394
Jamtara ..	2,936	872	315	1,528	248	5,899	2,496	284	5,546
Pakaur ..	176	792	630	844	24	2,466	1,980	76	8,197
Borio ..	25	1,498	108	229	165	2,025	1,942	..	5,070
Katikund ..	28	1,306	360	167	150	2,011	1,918	..	7,264
Mahespur ..	..	10	..	..	..	685	695	..	11,123
Madhupur ..	..	10	6,762	..	..	6,772	6,772	244	11,454

According to the 1931 census there are 2,096 lepers Leprosy. in the district. Besides the Leper Asylum at Deoghar and the Leper Colony at Saldaha, there are outdoor leper clinics attached to the dispensaries at Dumka, Kundahit, Jarmundi, Pakuria and Hiranpur. There are also outdoor leper clinics at Madhupur and Baromesia.

The Deoghar Rajkumari Leper Asylum was established in 1895 by Dr. Mahendra Lal Sarkar, C.I.E., and other philanthropists upon the premises of $6\frac{1}{2}$ bighas of land for which Dr. Mahendra Lal Sarkar obtained a Maurasi Mukrari lease from Thakurani Mahakum Kumari Ghatwalin of Tiur on condition of payment of an annual rent of Rs. 3-4-0. Dr. Mahendra Lal Sarkar contributed Rs. 5,000 towards the cost of the first set of buildings and it was named after the wife of the generous donor "The Rajkumari Leper Asylum". The foundation stone of the Asylum was laid in 1892 by the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Charles Elliot. Under Bengal Government notification no. 2302, dated the 6th August 1903, the asylum was vested in trustees consisting of 18 members and Government securities and Calcutta Municipal debentures to the value of Rs. 22,000, were subject to the provisions of

The Rajkumari Leper Asylum at Deoghar.

the Charitable Endowment Act VI of 1890, vested in the Treasurer of Charitable Endowments. The endowment thus created is being called " The Rajkumari Leper Asylum Fund " its object being the maintenance of the Leper Asylum.

In 1913, the question of bringing the Asylum under the provisions of the Leper Act was raised by Government. A special meeting of the trustees of the Rajkumari Leper Asylum was held on 30th October 1913, at which the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals and the Deputy Commissioner were also present. The Committee agreed to maintain an asylum (to be constructed) under the Act within the compound of the Rajkumari Leper Asylum, if Government gave a grant for its erection. Government gave a grant and a male ward for six patients, a female ward for four patients and a compound wall were constructed, a Sub-Assistant Surgeon and a non-official Superintendent were appointed. Finally under notification no. 11245-M., dated the 29th August 1917, the Rajkumari Leper Asylum was made a Leper Asylum under section 3 of Act III of 1898 and Deoghar, Jasidih, Rohini and Madhupur were specified as places from which lepers might be sent to that asylum. Under notification no. 12246-M., of the same date, the Assistant Surgeon attached to the Deoghar Charitable dispensary and the Health Officer of Deoghar were appointed inspectors of lepers for the towns of Deoghar, Jasidih, Rohini and Madhupur. Under section 5 of Act III of 1898 a Board of Management was constituted under notification no. 12247-M., dated the 29th August 1917, consisting of 9 members with the Deputy Commissioner as President. A notification was also issued under section 9, prohibiting lepers from following certain trades and doing certain acts and the Deputy Commissioner was appointed to be the officer to whom appeals might be preferred in respect of matters referred to in section 15. Rules made under section 16 of Act III of 1898 for carrying out the purposes of the Act were published with notification no. 12250-M., dated the 29th August 1917.

Subsequently under notification no. 173-M., dated the 29th April 1919, issued under section 5 of Act III of 1898 and no. 174-M., of the same date issued under section 5 (i) of the Charitable Endowment Act (VI of 1890), clause 2 of the third schedule to Bengal Government notification no. 2302-Medl., of the 6th August 1903 was modified and the

number of Trustees of the Rajkumari Leper Asylum was reduced to 12 with the Deputy Commissioner as President and the trustees were also appointed members of the Board of Management under section 5 of Act III of 1898. Again under Government notifications nos. 2702-L.S.-G., dated the 24th February 1930 and 2703-L.S.-G., dated the 24th February 1930, the Board of Trustees and the Board of Management were further reconstructed with the Subdivisional Officer of Deoghar as the ex-officio President and the Assistant Surgeon in charge of the Deoghar dispensary and the Chairman of the Deoghar municipality as ex-officio members and 9 other ordinary members with one of them as Secretary and the Deputy Commissioner was thus relieved of his duties as ex-officio President.

In 1927-28, the Asylum received Rs. 3,800 from Government for the construction of a dispensary building and an injection hall and a sum of Rs. 2,000 was also contributed by Srimati Charu Sila Devi for the construction of a cottage ward.

The Asylum now holds Government securities of the aggregate nominal value of Rs. 49,520 as detailed in the table below.

Serial no.	Name of fund.	Name of security.	Face value.	In whose custody.
			Rs.	
1	General Asylum Fund	3½ per cent loan of 1865.	30,500	The Treasurer. Charitable Endowments, Bihar and Orissa.
2	Ditto ..	5 per cent loan of 1939-44.	1,000	Ditto.
3	Ditto ..	3½ per cent loan of 1865.	3,000	The Accountant-General, Posts and Telegraphs.
4	Leper Shed Fund ..	3½ per cent loan of 1900-01.	500	Ditto.
5	Ambica Sitabastri Fund.	3½ per cent loan of 1865.	600	The Reserve Bank of India.
6	Dukhari Rama Sundari Fund.	3½ per cent loan of 1854-55.	800	Ditto.
		4 per cent loan of 1960-70.	200	
7	Brahmananda Brahmachari Fund.	3½ per cent loan of 1900-01.	400	Ditto.
8	Monmohin Fund ..	3½ per cent loan of 1854-55.	400	Ditto.
9	Kali Krishna Mitra Fund.	5 per cent loan of 1939-44.	1,000	Ditto.

Serial no.	Name of fund.	Name of security.	Face value.	In whose custody.
10	Bidhu Mukhi Dasi Fund.	3½ per cent loan of 1900-01.	500	Ditto.
11	Apurna Chandra Dutta Fund.	Ditto ..	500	Ditto.
12	Nanda Lal Ghosh Bed Fund.	Ditto ..	1,200	The Accountant-General, Posts and Telegraphs.
13	Baijnath Beara Fund	3 per cent loan of 1896-97.	500	The Reserve Bank of India.
14	Golap Kumari Dasi Fund.	5 per cent loan of 1945-55.	100	The Treasurer, Charitable Endowments, Bihar and Orissa.
15	Lady Biraj Mohini Bose Fund.	3½ per cent loan of 1865.	3,000	Ditto.
16	Ishan Chandra Ghose Fund.	3½ per cent loan of 1900-01.	200	The Reserve Bank of India.
17	Promoda Sundari Sarkar Fund.	3½ per cent loan of 1842-43.	400	Ditto.
18	Samarendra Nath Fund.	3½ per cent loan of 1900-01.	100	The Accountant-General, Posts and Telegraphs.
19	Bimal Chandra Ghosh Fund.	Ditto ..	500	The Reserve Bank of India.
20	I. B. Sen Memorial Fund.	Ditto ..	600	The Treasurer, Charitable Endowments, Bihar and Orissa.
21	Rabindira Nath and Satindra Nath Dutt Fund.	3½ per cent loan of 1865.	500	The Accountant-General, Posts and Telegraphs.
22	Postal Cash Certificates	..	3,020	The Secretary of the Asylum.
			49,520	

In March 1936, there were 90 lepers in the voluntary ward and 8 lepers in the compulsory wards. The Government capitation drawn by the Asylum in 1935-36, amounted to Rs. 4,362.

The scheme for the establishment of a leper colony at Saldaha in the Dumka Damin by the Santal Mission of the Northern Church was approved in Bihar and Orissa Government letter no. 2529-L. S.-G.R., dated the 29th August 1922. Land measuring 197.85 acres in mauzas Bara Bhalki and Domanpur was acquired by Government under the provisions of Act I of 1894 at a cost of Rs. 7,294-4-2 and under orders contained in Government letter no. 3023-L.S.-G.R., dated the 14th September 1923, the land thus acquired was leased out to the Mission authorities at an annual rent of Rs. 12-6-0 payable in one instalment on the 15th March of each year. In 1923 Government sanctioned a grant of Rs. 20,000 for the construction of initial buildings and also Rs. 1,200 towards the equipment of the dispensary and hospital wards. By the end

Saldaha
Leper
Colony.

of 1923, the colony accommodated 129 lepers. Six pucca wards were completed of which one was temporarily used as dispensary and one as Superintendent's quarters. In May 1924, Saldaha Leper Colony was appointed a Leper Asylum under section 3 of Act III of 1898 and the district of Santal Parganas was specified as the local area from which lepers might be sent to that asylum (notification no. 5067-L.S.-G., dated the 7th April 1924). The Civil Surgeon of the district was appointed as Inspector of Lepers under section 4 of Act III of 1898 and Mr. Eli Bogh of the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches was appointed Superintendent for the purposes of the Act (notification no. 5068-L.S.-G., dated the 7th May 1924) and under section 5 of the Act III of 1898, a Board was constituted (notification no. 5069-L.S.-G., dated the 7th May 1924) with Deputy Commissioner and the Civil Surgeon as ex-officio members, two members representing the Mission and the Superintendent of the Leper Colony. Government made further grants of Rs. 54,000 during 1925-28 and the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division made a grant of Rs. 4,500 in 1927-28 for the construction of an untainted ward. In 1928, Government also made a grant of Rs. 1,000 for medicines and Rs. 2,000 towards the equipment of the dispensary and hospital wards. A grant of Rs. 2,200 was given by the District Committee, Santal Parganas in 1927-28 for the construction of a well and nurse quarters. Thus by 1928, all the necessary buildings were constructed with the Government grant of Rs. 78,500 and the District Committee grant of Rs. 2,200. The Mission authorities contributed only Rs. 25,000 towards the construction of the Lepers' Church. Some of the buildings were damaged during the earthquake of 15th January 1934 and Government sanctioned a grant of Rs. 6,428 for repairs to the damages.

There is now scheduled accommodation for 355 patients at the Colony. It receives from Government Rs. 12,600 a year as capitation grant at Rs. 3 per leper per month calculated on the daily average population of the Colony and the full salary of the medical officer is also contributed by Government at Rs. 2,160 a year. The grant has been restored to Rs. 3-8-0 per leper per month. The District Committee also contributes Rs. 360 a year. The mission contributes Rs. 7,000 a year besides Rs. 2,650 as lepers' contribution and the full salary of the Superintendent amounting to Rs. 3,980 a year.

No rules have been framed under section 16 of Act III of 1898. But the Colony is run under instructions drawn up by the Mission authorities which provide for a certain amount of self-management by the inmates.

**LODGING
HOUSES.**

The Puri Lodging House Act (IV B. C. of 1871) was extended to the town of Deoghar in 1879 and to Jasidih bazar in 1901. By-laws and rules under the act for the town of Deoghar were sanctioned in Bengal Government order no. 2308-M., dated the 10th April 1902. Under Bengal Government, Municipal Department, notification no. 589, dated the 22nd May 1902, the Subdivisional Officer of Deoghar was vested with the powers of a Magistrate under the Act. Under the above by-laws and rules, the town of Deoghar is considered as conterminous with the boundaries of the Deoghar municipality and Jasidih bazar is considered as bounded on the north by village Simra, on the east by Ram Chandrapur, on the south by Dhibadih and on the west by Jasidih. Act IV (B. C.) of 1871 was repealed by the Bihar and Orissa Places of Pilgrimage Act (Bihar and Orissa Act II of 1920) which came into force on the 31st March 1920. Rules under sections 4, 5 and 6 of the Act framed by Government under section 23 (d) were published with notification no. 4539-L.S.-G., dated the 25th August 1902 and those framed under sections 23 (2), (b), (c) and (e) were published with notification no. 2027-L.S.-G. R., dated the 19th August 1924. The receipts obtained under the working of the act constitute the Lodging House Fund under section 20(1) of the Act and consist mainly of fees for licensing and regulating lodging houses, fees for issue of certificates by the medical officer of health and rent of camping ground sheds. The Fund provides for pay and allowance of Health Officer and a small establishment for collection and supervision. It also makes provision for the construction and repairs of buildings such as pilgrims' shops and sheds and contributes a sum of about Rs. 1,100 to the Deoghar municipality for sanitation and conservancy of the town. The receipts in 1936-37 amounted to Rs. 3,255-5-3 and the expenditure was Rs. 2,454-9-9. According to the returns of 1935-36, there are 77 licensed Lodging Houses with accommodation for 2,822 lodgers. A Health Officer with L. M. P., L. P. H., qualifications has been appointed by the Deoghar Municipality since 16th April 1937. His services are being utilized by the Lodging House Committee as well. It has now been decided by Government that the balances of

the Deoghar Lodging House Fund shall be credited to Government revenue from the 1st February 1937 and after that the receipts of the Fund shall be taken direct to the Provincial Revenues and the expenditure in connection with the Fund voted as a block sum each year.

CHAPTER VI.

AGRICULTURE.

GENERAL
CONDI-
TIONS.

IN the level strip of land along the Ganges agricultural conditions are the same as in the alluvial plains of Bihar. Elsewhere the surface is to a large extent composed of long undulating ridges, between which the drainage runs off to join the larger streams. The trough-like hollows that lie between the undulations of the surface are full of rich alluvial soil into which a detritus of vegetable matter has been washed. The crests of the ridges, however, are as a rule very poor, being made up of sterile gravel or stiff clay lying on a hard subsoil, which is dependent on the rainfall and yields even to irrigation but a meagre outturn. The slopes of these ridges, and the swampy ground between, supply the only land on which a rice crop can be raised. The soil is, in the first instance, brought under cultivation by cutting level terraces out of the slopes, a small bank to hold water being left round each plot. The slopes thus present the appearance of a series of steps, varying from one to five feet in height. When the slopes are too steep for terracing, or the soil too stony for cultivation, the bed of the stream is banked up and made into one long narrow rice field. The rice terraces are flooded as soon as possible after the rains set in, and the water is retained until the crop ripens in late autumn. After the crop has been reaped, the higher levels become dry and hard, but the lower fields often remain moist till February and March. The cultivable area which cannot be converted into rice fields is used for other crops requiring less moisture.

CLASSES
OF LAND.

There are two main classes of land, known as *dhani* or rice lands and *bari* or uplands, the land under cultivation being almost equally divided between them. The rice lands are usually subdivided into three classes, viz., first, second and third class *dhani*, this classification depending chiefly on the level of the land, the crops it grows and the amount of moisture it retains. First class *dhani*, called *awal*, *bahal* or *jol*, includes lands on the lower levels, which are protected by their natural situation, by springs, or by the numerous small embankments which the ryots throw across the dips and hollows. The best of the first class rice lands are those which are fed by perennial springs, from which moisture oozes even in the hottest months of the year. Second class *dhani*, called *doem*, *kanali* or *sakrat*, consists of the rice fields on the

smaller undulations and the lower terraced lands on the slopes. Each step acts as a shallow reservoir for the step below, and there is always percolation from the higher to the lower levels. Third class *dhani*, called *soem* or *bad*, consists of the higher terraced fields, which have been cut out from the slopes and have only small *ails* or ridges to retain rainfall. *Bari* lands are unterraced high lands on which maize, mustard, millets, pulses and other miscellaneous crops are grown. They are usually divided into two main classes :—(1) first class *bari*, *i.e.*, the land round the village site or on the banks of streams, which is usually cropped twice a year, and (2) second class *bari*, known as *dangalbari*, *i.e.*, inferior land away from the village site, which is only cropped once a year.

As regards the crops grown on the different classes of land, first class *dhani* land, being low-lying and moist, is utilized for growing winter rice, for even in the driest year these fields accumulate and retain sufficient moisture for its growth. Gram, linseed, *khesari* and other *rabi* crops are also sometimes raised on these first class rice lands; and in tracts where they form flat and extensive *bahirs*, as in those parts of the Godda subdivision which adjoin Bhagalpur, *rabi* is frequently grown. The second class paddy fields, are utilized indifferently for growing winter and autumn rice. When winter rice is grown on them, the crop is apt to fail in years of short rainfall, unless it is protected by *bandhs* or embankments forming reservoirs, from which water can be let into the fields if there is an early cessation of the rains. When autumn rice is raised on such lands, the crop is more secure. Second class land is occasionally utilized in the cold weather for growing a second crop of wheat, barley, linseed, *khesari* or lentils. Sugarcane is often grown on second class rice lands close to tanks or streams which afford facilities for irrigation. The third class paddy fields usually grow *bhadoi* or autumn rice.

First class *bari* land in the immediate vicinity of villages, where the surface is fairly level, and the soil is rich in organic matter derived from village refuse of all kinds, besides being artificially manured, supports valuable crops, such as maize, mustard, the larger variety of cotton (*bar-kapas*), tobacco, the castor-oil plant and vegetables. Maize is generally the first crop raised and is followed by mustard; in fact, it is understood locally that first class *bari* is land cultivated with or capable of growing maize. *Jowar* or *choli* (*Andropogon sorghum* and both the *maghi* and *chaitali* varieties of *rahar* (*Cajanus*

indicus) are also grown on first class *bari* land, and in the more productive localities on second class *bari* land. Sugarcane is also grown on first class *bari* lands near tanks. In the Pabbia taluk of the Jamtara subdivision such sugarcane fields are not usually irrigated, but *bari* lands that retain moisture are selected for its cultivation. The rest of the *bari* land is generally sown with either *gondli* (*Panicum miliare*) or *kodo* (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*) in the hot weather, and with *kurthi* (*Dolichos biflorus*) or *sarguja* (*Guizotia abyssinica*) in the autumn. The minor crops, i.e., crops which are less extensively grown on second class *bari* land, are a superior variety of *gondli* called *laio* (*Panicum italicum*), *bajra* (*Pennisetum typhoideum*), *marua* (*Eleusine Coracana*), gram; *til* (*Sesamum indicum*), *pattua* (*Hibiscus cannabinus*) and the smaller variety of cotton (*Chhotakapas*).

Soils.

In this district the names for the same type of soil seem to vary in different parts, Hindi, Bengali and Santali names being all in use. A heavy black clay is known as *karar*, and when yellowish in colour as *entel*, *chital mati* or *jetang hasa*, the last being a Santali word. It is a sticky clay, becoming very hard when dry, and is poor in quality, producing only *rahar*, *kurthi* and *bajra*; but it improves after having been under cultivation for some time, when it turns into good paddy land. The typical clay soil of the district is variously known as *kewal*, *kala mati*, *metal* and, in Santali, *hende hasa*. It is a black clay soil, which, though hard when dry, is friable. It is, on the whole, very fertile and is chiefly used for growing paddy. A clay loam is called *bindi mati*, and a loam is called *donasla*. *Balthar*, *balkasi* and *bele* are sandy soils (called by the Santals *gital hasa*), which are useless for agriculture. *Balsundar* is a reddish sandy clay found on the banks of the hill streams—a poor soil, which, however, produces paddy under irrigation. The *diara* soil on the banks of the Ganges, that receives a deposit of silt every year, is known as *masin* or *masina mati* (Santali, *pali hasa*). It is a light, friable, rich soil used for both *bhadoi* and *rabi* crops. *Ankkoori* or *lalmati* (Santali, *ara hasa* or *dhiri hasa*) is a reddish soil found near the hills. It is of an inferior quality but not infertile, for it will grow *jowar*, maize, *kurthi*, *kodo* and *rahar* besides *sabai* grass. *Bastu* or *bhita* land (Santali *ora barge*) is homestead land growing sugarcane, chillies, tobacco, maize, mustard and all kinds of vegetables. Saline soils which are unfit for agricultural purposes are called *usar*, *kharwa*, etc.*

* D. N. Mukherji, *Note on the Soils of Bengal*, 1909.

The wet saline soil called *nuna mati* grows paddy, but the outturn is poor.

Artificial irrigation is essential for the cultivation of rice except in the level tract adjoining the Ganges and at the bottom of inland depressions, where the soil is kept moist by perennial springs or is capable of retaining water draining off higher levels. Here heavy crops of rice are obtained, even though the rainfall is short or ceases prematurely; but there is a danger of crop failure if the surrounding slopes are too steep, for the rush of water often brings with it drifts of sand which ruin the crop. To obviate this danger, a small channel is often provided for the escape of sand-laden water. Except in such localities, artificial irrigation is absolutely necessary, and fortunately the undulating nature of the country affords great facilities for protective works. These facilities have been so fully utilized, that one-third of the rice land is now protected from drought by its natural position or by small irrigation works, one-third is partially protected, and only one-third remains unprotected. IRRIGATION.

The irrigation works generally take the form of embankments constructed across ravines, hollows or other natural depressions or at the head of the numerous valleys, which impound the drainage water and also dam up any stream there may be in the bed of a valley or ravine. They thus form reservoirs, from which the rice fields, stretching away, each on a lower level than another, and widening as they recede from the dam, are irrigated. These embankments, when small, are called *hirs* and when large *bandhs*. Their number is legion, and no village is without one or two at least. The smaller ones dry up a month or two after the rains cease, but generally hold sufficient water to carry the fields below over the precarious months of October and November. The larger ones have frequently catchment basins large enough to ensure a continuous water-supply from the end of one rainy season to the beginning of the next. Their sites are usually well chosen, and the beds of the *bandhs* are often impregnated with natural springs. The slopes, moreover, are laboriously terraced, the fields being cut out from them in a series of steps. Being enclosed by small ridges (*ails*) which retain water, the higher fields are practically minute reservoirs, from which water percolates or is allowed to run off to the fields below. Bandhs and hirs.

There is very little well irrigation in this district. There are, it is true, *kachcha* wells in nearly every village, however small, but they usually consist merely of holes scooped out Wells.

wherever springs exist, and are not used much for irrigation, except over small patches of first class *bari* land growing vegetables, tobacco and other special crops. *Tappa* Manihari in the north of the Godda subdivision, with an area of about 100 square miles, which consists of unusually flat and fertile land, is the only tract in which wells are used to any considerable extent.

Danrs.

In *tappas* Manihari, Barkop and Patsunda (in the Godda subdivision) and also to a less extent in *pargana* Godda, another tract of 100 square miles within the same subdivision, a considerable amount of irrigation is effected by water channels called *danrs* leading from embankments thrown across the beds of streams to fields at a lower level. These channels frequently pass through several villages, all of which assist in their construction and share in the benefits accruing from them. There is, indeed, quite a network of distributaries across the face of Manihari and the more level parts of Godda, showing that the people are well able to take advantage of the particular form of irrigation best suited to the needs of the country. Such a system is possible in this part of the district, for the river channels are comparatively shallow and will admit of the construction of dams in their beds after the close of the rains.

Tappa Manihari is a monotonously level plain hemmed in by the hill ranges of the Damin-i-koh on the west and south and by the high lands of the Bhagalpur district on the remaining sides. From these higher lands it gets an excellent supply of water, which is carefully preserved in irrigation *bandhs*. Godda is a more undulating country, but the higher lands enclosed broad fertile valleys, which are watered by hill streams from the Damin. Here also irrigation has reached a high stage of development, and the lands of the central valleys are reputed to be the most fertile rice lands in the district. Elsewhere irrigation from the rivers is impossible, for by the end of the rainy season they are merely beds of sand with little or no water.

Adminis-
tration.

Apart from the natural facilities for irrigation, the system of administration in the Santal Parganas has done much to develop its natural resources. "The land system of the Santal Parganas is," writes Mr. (now Sir) H. McPherson, "one which lends itself with peculiar advantage to co-operation amongst the cultivators of the soil. The unit is the village. At the head of almost every village there is a headman. The headman is the representative of the village, through whom

the villagers as a body deal with the proprietor. The proprietor is merely the rent-receiver and has no part in the management or internal economy of the village. His interference, if he is at all disposed to interfere, which few landlords in the Santal Parganas are, is liable to be checked at every turn by appeal to the local officer, who besides being the court of civil and criminal justice to the people, is their active and sympathetic safeguard against every form of oppression that may be practised by the headman or proprietor. The headman is appointed by and is liable to be dismissed by the District Officer. Hence it is that in the Santal Parganas the village commune with its headman and elders flourishes with a very strong and vigorous life.

"The faculty of association and co-operation has been fostered and developed to a degree that is impossible in the ordinary district. It is this facility of co-operation to which, I think, is chiefly due the very extraordinary utilization that has occurred of the natural irrigational advantages of the district. Works that have been beyond the means and enterprise of the individual cultivator have been successfully carried through by the united efforts of the community, each member of which has shared in the general resultant good, and co-operation has told not only on the work of construction but also on the work of maintenance and repair. By a special provision of the village record-of-rights and duties, which was framed 25 years ago and has now been renewed, it is the duty of the headman and ryots of a village to maintain and repair all the village *bandhs*, tanks and other works of irrigation. While speaking of the record-of-rights I may note another of the special provisions, viz., that without reference to the proprietor any ryot may construct embankments and like works for purposes of reclamation or irrigation, provided he does not thereby cause injury or loss to others. This clause removes the proprietor from interference with the work of improvement, and leaves individual ryots and the community free to think out and execute their own ideas of improvement."

A further inducement to the ryots to improve their lands by irrigation is afforded by the rental law which provides that the rents due to the proprietor are fixed for the term of settlement, *i.e.*, for at least 15 years: as a matter of fact, they usually remain unchanged even longer. The ryot, therefore, who makes or improves a *bandh*, knows that for a considerable period he will not be deprived of the fruits of his enterprise. He not only repays himself for his labour and expense within

a year or two, but goes on reaping his reward till the time for resettlement comes round. He further knows that when there is resettlement, the operations will be conducted under the immediate supervision of Government officers who will treat him sympathetically, take his improvements into account, and not enhance his rent unduly. So far from their rents being enhanced, cultivators are allowed considerable abatements or remissions of rate rent in consideration of improvements effected by them during the course of the settlement. The extent to which the ryots have taken advantage of these conditions and improved the country by reclaiming, terracing and embanking may be gathered from Mr. (Now Sir H.) McPherson's settlement figures, for in an area of 3,300 square miles rice cultivation increased from 380,000 acres to 625,000 acres and first class rice land from 108,000 acres to 208,000 acres. The revision settlement shows that the rent of land reclaimed during the period intervening between the last settlement and the revision settlement at half rates was Rs. 15,903 and the rice cultivation has increased to 1,197,000 acres and the first class rice land to 317,200 acres.

Much, however, as has been done by the village communities, their interest is confined to single villages, and they labour under the difficulty that, while their own resources are small, they cannot pledge their united security to obtain capital, inasmuch as the lands of the district are not transferable by mortgage or sale. Irrigation works, carried out by individual ryots or village communities are, therefore, necessarily of a minor character. Reservoirs and channels affecting more villages than one, and involving considerable outlay, can only be constructed and maintained by the zamindars, and the latter have hitherto shown little enterprise in this direction. They belong to a class who are not likely to lay out capital on improvements unless they see a fair chance of obtaining a reasonable return for it, and unlike the proprietors of permanently-settled estates in other districts, they were until recently unable to obtain an immediate and fair return for money spent by them on works of improvement. The law, as it stood, gave them no prospect of such a return, for if a proprietor during the currency of a settlement were to expend capital on the construction of large irrigation works, he would have to wait for the profits of his enterprise till the settlement could be revised. He might, it is true, bargain with the headman or ryots to receive higher rents in return, but the

contract would not be enforceable in the courts, and his profit would thus be precarious. At the revision his enhancement of income would depend on two factors, viz., classification and rates. The former would be determined by the settlement staff, and the latter probably by Government. His expenditure on irrigation works would probably result in a higher classification, and to this extent some return would be a moral certainty, but Government might or might not allow an enhancement of the former rates of rent.

To remedy this state of affairs Regulation III of 1907 has been passed, under which the Deputy Commissioner may, during the currency of a settlement, allow an enhancement of rent on the ground of improvements effected by or at the expense of the proprietor. This is subject to the provision that, in the case of villages in the lease or management of a *manjhi* or headman, the proprietor must get the consent of the Deputy Commissioner before effecting an improvement, and the improvement must be of so substantial a nature as to affect beneficially a considerable proportion of the lands in the village.

From the marginal table it will be seen that a little more than two-thirds of the ^{PRINCIPAL} _{CROPS.}

	<i>Bhadai.</i>	<i>Aghani.</i>	<i>Rabi.</i>
Dumka outside Damin	28	69	3
Dumka Damin ..	30	60	10
Total Dumka subdivi- sion.	29	64.5	6.5
Deoghar ..	15	82	3
Godda outside Damin..	20	56	24
Godda Damin ..	18	50	32
Godda Simra Paharia hills.	10	77	13
Total Godda subdivi- sion.	19	55	26
Jamtara ..	12	87	1
Pakaur outside Damin	23.5	65.7	10.8
Pakaur Damin ..	25	62.5	12.5
Total Pakaur subdivi- sion.	24	64	12
Rajmahal outside Damin	11	66	23
Rajmahal Damin ..	18	53	29
Rajmahal Sauria Paha- ria hills.	8.5	83	8.5
Total Rajmahal subdivi- sion.	15	59	26
Zamindary areas ..	20	71	9
Damin-i-koh ..	20	59	21
District Total ..	20	68	12

total cropped area is occupied by *aghani* crops and one-fifth by *bhadai* and one-eighth by *rabi* crops. The district has thus crops of three seasons to rely on and is therefore not very liable to famine. In the Jamtara, Deoghar and Dumka subdivisions, however, *rabi* crops and in the Jamtara, Deoghar and Rajmahal subdivisions *bhadai* crops are grown on comparatively small areas. Statistics of areas under principal crops in each subdivision (excluding the *diara* tracts of Rajmahal) will be found at the end of this chapter.

Rice.

Rice accounts for 53 per cent of the total cropped area as shown in the following table and the greater part of the crop consists of winter rice. Spring or *boro* rice is scarcely grown at all except in the Rajmahal subdivision, where it is raised on the edge of the *jhils* which are numerous in that part of the district.

	Dumka.	Deoghar.	Godda.	Jamtara.	Pakaur.	Rajmahal.	Zamindari Estates.	Damin-i-koh.	District.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>Bhadai</i> ..	17	7	10	6	12	6	11	9	10
<i>Aghani</i> ...	35	44	38	60	48	43	46	33	43
<i>Rabi</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...
Total ...	52	51	48	66	60	49.6	57	42	53

Maize.

The next important crop is maize or Indian corn, the proportion of which varies from 9 per cent in Pakaur to 3 per cent in Jamtara and from 9.8 per cent in the Damin-i-koh to 5.7 per cent in the zamindari estates. In the whole district it is cultivated on more than one-thirteenth of the net cropped area.

Other
cereals
and
pulses.

Wheat, barley and gram are found mainly in the country east and north of the hills in Pakaur, Rajmahal and Godda subdivisions and mostly in the Godda subdivision. *Marua* is grown chiefly in the Godda and Deoghar subdivisions. *Kodo* is grown extensively in the Dumka subdivision. *Bajra* is a favourite crop of the Paharias, who grow it on the hill sides and in the Damin-i-koh it occupies no less than 7 per cent of the total cropped area.

Oilseeds

Linseed (20,724 acres) is found mainly in Godda and Rajmahal, where it usually forms a second crop to rice. Mustard (30,677 acres) is more evenly distributed amongst the four Damin subdivisions of Godda, Rajmahal, Dumka and Pakaur. It is a favourable second crop on homestead lands that have been cultivated in the autumn with maize.

Its distribution, therefore, closely follows the distribution of maize. Sesamum or *til*, an *aghani* oilseed, is grown on 32,739 acres.

Cotton is grown on 3,910 acres according to the crop statement of the revision settlement operations (1922—35) and that of the Sauria Paharia hill settlement against 12,454 acres found during the settlement operations of 1898—1910. It is more or less confined to the Dumka and Deoghar subdivisions. The total area under jute is only 2,935 acres and is mainly confined to Pakaur and Rajmahal subdivisions. The area under hemp is only 328 acres.

Sugarcane (2,182 acres according to the revision settlement figures against 5,138 acres according to the last settlement figures of Mr. Allanson) is grown chiefly in the Godda subdivision. The area under sugarcane has considerably increased recently through the exertions of the Agricultural Department. Among other miscellaneous crops may be mentioned condiments and spices (2,066 acres), opium (261 acres in the Deoghar subdivision only according to the revision settlement figures), tobacco (1,816 acres), Kharhul (12,690 acres), sabai (12,933 acres), potatoes (811 acres) and indigo (147 acres according to the revision settlement figures).

The statistics of the Revision Settlement (1922—35) and of the settlement of the Sauria Paharia hills show that 54 per cent of the total area of the district is cultivated, 29 per cent cultivable and 17 per cent uncultivable and also that 11.56 per cent of the cultivated area is twice cropped. Of the subdivisions, Jamtara appears to be the most backward, for although 50 per cent of the total area is cultivated only one per cent of the cultivated area is twice cropped. Godda is the most advanced for nearly 57 per cent is cultivated and it contains by far the largest proportion of twice cropped land. Deoghar is next to Jamtara the least advanced subdivision in point of agricultural development.

In paragraph 66 of his final report on the Survey and Settlement operations of the district Mr. (now Sir H.) McPherson noticed that within a period of 30 years from the first settlement of the district by Mr. Wood the cultivated area increased by no less than 66 per cent. (84 per cent. in the zamindari estates and 36 per cent in the Damin-i-koh), the rice growing area increasing by 72 per cent and the upland area by 61 per cent.

Fibres.

Others.

Extension and improvement of cultivation.

The table below shows the increase of cultivable area during the period intervening between the last settlement (1898—1910) and the revision settlement of 1922—35.

	Area, in acres.		
	Zamindari area.	Domin-i-koh.	Total.
Last settlement ryoti area ...	1,418,995	382,458	1,801,453
Revision settlement ryoti area ...	1,767,115	461,166	2,228,281
Percentage of increase ...	25	20	24
Last settlement rice area ...	783,552	176,959	960,511
Revision settlement rice area ...	967,907	228,202	1,196,109
Percentage of increase ...	23	29	25

The process has been well described by Mr. (now Sir H.) McPherson. "The Santal is a born reclamer. He has an eye which is expert to take advantage of the inequalities that exist in the surface of the country. He knows where to throw his cross-*bandhs* and where to make his terraces. He loves to clear jungle, and in areas that are now almost Hindu he has often been the pioneer. In the areas that are left to him, beyond which there is no further advance to be made, he has been protected against encroachment and against the consequences of his own folly by a paternal Government, and he has settled down with intent to stay and to continue the work of improvement and reclamation begun by him. In the older areas, from which he moved on at an earlier date, he seems to have done the first clearing of jungle and the first rough shaping of slopes and levels. The more civilized Bengali, Bihari and up-country immigrant came at his heels, pushed him off the land by force, cajolery and trickery, siezed upon his improvements, and by the application of larger capital or steadier labour developed the embryo *bandhs* and tanks into works of considerable size. In many villages one finds magnificent reservoirs which retain their supply of water throughout the driest years. They have often been begun by Santals and finished by others."

Not only has the area under cultivation been extended, but the productive powers of the soil have been increased as the result of terracing the higher lands, by which the lower lands are improved. The work of reclamation and improvement goes on simultaneously, *e.g.*, when a Santal reclaims the bed of a stream, terraces high *bari* lands, or constructs

embankments across depressions. The lands which are prepared by terracing are usually inferior rice lands whose crop is precarious, but they benefit the lands immediately below by retaining some portion of the annual rainfall in the higher levels. Year after year the ryot goes on raising the side walls (*ails*) of his fields, and year by year a greater supply of water is retained. Lands lying below, which used to be third class, thus become second class, and the second class lands are improved into first class fields. The land is as a rule classified into 5 classes (first, second and third class rice land, and first and second class upland). It was estimated in the previous settlement of Sir Hugh McPherson that the average outturns of the different classes of rice land were 30 maunds, 20 maunds and 10 maunds per acre, respectively. This was probably an over estimate and it is now estimated generally at about 22, 18 and 8, respectively.

Among the Maler in the north of the Rajmahal hills, the primitive practice of cultivation known as Kurwa, Kurao or *jhuming* is practised on the hill sides in addition to the ordinary method of cultivation which is carried on in the level surface which exist to some extent on most hill tops. Kurwa involves the felling of scrub jungles on Kurwa patches at intervals of three to ten years only. It lends itself to illicit destruction of *sal* sapplings and other trees of the reserved species. In the revision settlement (1922—35) and in the settlement of Sauria Paharia hills of Godda and Rajmahal, the Kurao areas have been demarcated and the area thus demarcated measures 100,145 acres as below—

	Acres.
In the Pakaur hills	10,862
In the Rajmahal hills	54,194
In the Godda hills	35,089

Total ... 100,145

The Kurao rights are thus confined to specified portions of each hill and are adequate for the requirements of each village. Under this system there is practically no rice cultivation in the Paharia hills. Out of an area of 135,400 acres of Sauria Paharia hills settled in 1914—16, only 918 acres were under rice.

Of the fruits common in the district the *mahua* (*Bassia* ^{FRUITS} *latifolia*) and *kondra* (*Bauhinia* ^{AND} *purpurea*) are of special ^{VEGE-} importance as affording food in years of scanty rainfall. The ^{TABLES.}

flowers of the former are a popular article of diet; the tender leaves of the latter are largely consumed as pot-herbs. The ryots, in the greater part of the district, are entitled to enjoy the produce of *mahua* trees free of payment under the provisions of the record-of-rights, which contains a clause stating that all the *jamabandi* ryots and poor residents of a village are entitled to enjoy rent-free, to extent of their domestic and agricultural requirements, the produce of *mahua* trees, whether growing on holdings, or on the village common lands, or in the reserved forests of the village. This privilege is not enjoyed by ryots in *pargana* Godda of the Banaili Raj, where *mahua* trees are assessed at one anna a tree payable by the ryot in enjoyment of the produce. The jack tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), which is very plentiful in the district, is also of importance, as its large green fruit when cooked affords a nourishing food; it is, in fact, said to be as valuable and prolific as the bread-fruit. Among other trees yielding food and largely used by Santals may be mentioned the Indian horse-radish tree (*Moringa pterygosperma*). Yams, arums and sweet potatoes are also largely consumed, while the *buru rahar* (*Cyamopsis psoralioides*) and *ghangra* (*Vigna Catjang*) succeed well in years of short rainfall.

AGRICUL-
TURAL
STATIS-
TICS.

The following tables show (1) for the whole district the acreage under the principal crops and their proportion to the gross cropped area, and (2) for each subdivision statistics of areas and their proportions to the total area :—

—	Dumka.	Deoghar.	Godda.	Jamtara.	Pakaur.	Rajmahal.	Total.	Per- cent age.
<i>Bhadai.</i>								
Autumn rice	83,477	23,573	42,376	14,707	34,369	18,519	217,021	10.4
Jowar ..	1,597	202	1,077	242	1,174	1,155	5,477	.26
Marua ..	890	3,083	3,733	2,118	732	493	11,089	.54
Maize ..	38,913	18,774	29,255	7,149	27,205	22,274	138,570	6.7
Kodo ..	5,103	1,104	2,363	389	3,501	693	13,158	.63
Other cereals and pulses.	9,893	6,531	3,048	2,304	2,098	1,415	25,289	1.2
Jute ..	199	74	233	134	1,654	641	2,935	} .2
Hemp ..	58	7	116	76	51	20	328	
Dyes ..	35	60	5	45	1	1	147	
Food and non- food crops.	101	19	45	55	156	90	466	
Total <i>Bhadai</i>	140,266	48,427	82,291	27,219	70,941	45,806	414,450	2

	Dumka.	Deoghar.	Godda.	Jamtara.	Pakaur.	Rajmahal.	Total.	Per cent- age.
<i>Aghani.</i>								
Rice ..	172,076	137,850	164,619	139,113	143,294	133,970	890,922	43
Jowar ..	603	117	2,724	87	296	4,438	8,245	40
Bajra ..	5,435	1,542	8,319	1,854	12,202	11,481	40,833	1.97
Other food- crops includ- ing pulses.	56,619	..	9,293	10,957	7,840	3,306	88,015	4.2
Til (cereals and pulses).	69,652	1	32,393	23,358	14,961	6,039	146,404	7
Til (oilseed)	6,304	4,774	6,463	3,889	6,389	5,020	32,739	1.6
Sabai ..	..	..	1,654	..	..	11,279	12,933	.62
Sugarcane ..	371	439	724	331	117	200	2,182	} 8.6
Cotton ..	1,743	415	264	1,100	24	364	3,910	
Miscellaneous	21,767	108,696	10,823	19,922	5,956	4,996	172,165	
Total <i>Aghani</i>	334,470	253,834	287,281	200,591	191,079	181,093	1,398,348	68
<i>Rabi.</i>								
Rice ..	..	..	9	2	96	1,796	1,903	.09
Wheat ..	172	300	3,440	174	775	1,504	6,365	.30
Barley ..	55	504	13,436	3	1,659	5,775	21,432	1.00
Gram ..	1,096	2,990	20,533	112	3,340	10,260	38,331	1.8
Sugarcane ..	225	..	40	337	221	78	901	} 4.7
Other food- grains and pulses.	750	495	43,553	58	9,614	30,509	84,979	
Kharhul ..	5,223	..	1,230	4	1,933	4,245	12,690	
Oilseeds ..	8,001	2,058	20,691	579	4,804	16,046	52,179	2.5
Miscellaneous	8,919	1,731	6,655	1,271	10,507	8,490	32,573	1.6
Total <i>Rabi</i> ..	19,446	8,078	109,537	2,540	32,999	78,703	251,353	12
Orchards and gardens.	1,147	1,006	1,737	735	756	1,573	7,004	} 10.4
Gross cropped area.	495,329	311,345	430,946	231,085	295,775	306,675	2,071,155	
Area cropped more than once.	23,808	18,834	90,007	3,416	23,365	55,204	214,634	
Net cropped area.	471,521	292,511	340,939	227,669	272,410	251,471	1,856,521	

SUBDIVISION.	Net cropped area.		CULTIVABLE AREA.						AREA NOT AVAILABLE FOR CULTIVATION.						Total area		
			Current fallow.		Old fallow.		Cultivable jungle, etc.		Total.	House sites.		Water.		Other kinds.		Total.	
Acres.	Per-cent-age.	Acres.	Per-cent-age.	Acres.	Per-cent-age.	Acres.	Per-cent-age.	Acres.	Per-cent-age.	Acres.	Per-cent-age.	Acres.	Per-cent-age.	Acres.	Per-cent-age.	Acres.	Per-cent-age.
Dumka ..	471,521	51	104,206	11.3	97,235	10.6	51,790	5.6	253,171	27.5	4,948	.5	30,641	3.3	158,286	17	918,567
Deoghar	292,511	48	60,245	9.9	70,143	11.5	67,792	11.1	198,180	32.6	4,080	.6	35,726	5.9	77,717	12.7	608,194
Jamtara	227,669	50	38,081	8.5	70,907	18	32,029	7.2	150,017	33.7	2,569	.6	21,282	4.8	44,220	10	445,756
Pakaur ..	272,410	61	56,681	13	30,441	6.8	23,320	5.2	110,442	25	3,424	.8	15,516	3.5	42,985	9.7	444,778
Rajmahal	251,471	60.9	76,432	18	18,871	4.6	18,049	4.4	113,352	27	2,997	.7	15,213	3.7	29,996	7	413,029
Godda ..	340,989	57	93,400	17.3	41,317	7	41,879	7	176,596	30	4,323	.7	23,379	4	53,139	9	598,381
District Total	1,856,521	54	429,045	12.6	337,914	9.8	234,799	7	1,001,758	29	22,326	.6	141,757	4.1	406,343	11.9	3,428,705

Prior to 1932, the Overseer in charge of the Banka Agri-cultural farm was casually supervising propaganda work in Dumka. It was only in 1932, after the completion of the Revision Settlement operations in the Dumka subdivision, that a whole-time Overseer with 4 Kamdars under him were posted to this district with headquarters at Dumka. In 1936, separate Overseers have been posted to Deoghar and Pakaur with 3 Kamdars under each of them. During the 4 years' work in the Dumka subdivision, the Agricultural Department has introduced improved seeds mainly of sugarcane, groundnuts and *rabi* crops. The area under sugarcane in Dumka subdivision has now come up to 950 acres against 600 acres found during the revision settlement operations. The area under groundnut, wheat (*Pusa*) and gram (*Sabour*) has been 100 acres, 70 acres and 74 acres, respectively.

The cattle in the district are similar to those in the rest of the province but are very poor in quality. The actual figures under the cattle census of 1930 are—

Bull, bullocks, cows and calves	...	1,245,941
Buffaloes	...	280,816
Sheep	...	235,157
Goats	...	606,378
Horses and ponies	...	8,264

There were 318,486 ploughs and 69,194 carts. The cows generally in the interior are poor in stature and milking strain. There are no stud bulls in the district except one recently purchased and maintained by the District Committee at Katikund in charge of the Dumka Kanungo. The stud bull kept at the Veterinary dispensary at Dumka died in 1934-35. There are sufficient *gochar* lands in each village in the district and under the village record-of-rights the villagers and the headmen are bound to preserve the recorded grazing grounds intact and are liable to punishment for any breach of the terms, but during the dry months preceding the monsoon, all grass either shrivles up or die out altogether and the cattle suffer for want of proper fooding as also of drinking water as the few *bandhs* and tanks scattered about the district which are the main source of water-supply for the cattle dry up during the driest season.

There are now two Veterinary hospitals each in charge of a Veterinary Assistant Surgeon, *viz.*, one at Dumka maintained by Government and the other at Hiranpur maintained out of the Government Estates Improvement grant annually placed at the disposal of the District Committee. There are also 6 Touring Veterinary Assistant Surgeons at Dumka, Pakaur, Godda, Deoghar, Jamtara and Sahibganj. In 1934-35 when there was an exceptional virulence of rinderpest in this district, the number of deaths among the bovine cattle attributed to rinderpest was 3,504; most of these were uninoculated; there were only 196 deaths among the inoculated ones.

CHAPTER VII.

NATURAL CALAMITIES.

THERE have been four famines in the Santal Parganas ^{LIABILITY} since the creation of the district in 1855 and in each case ^{TO} famine was due to the failure of the winter rice crop, which ^{FAMINE.} is the main staple of the district. Such failure is apt to occur owing to an early cessation of the rains, for it is estimated that 5 inches of rainfall are required in October for that crop and that, if the rainfall is less, the crop will be short and may be almost an entire failure. A certain amount of land is however, protected against the vicissitudes of the seasons by irrigation. These protected lands consist of old rice fields laid out in ravines or depressions, which are generally fed by reservoirs at their heads or supplied by springs under the high banks throughout their length. Their fertility is extraordinary. The stalks are left long when the rice is cut; buffaloes are then turned in to graze on them, and when the land gets drier, other cattle. The fields are thus thoroughly manured, and it has been proved by experiment that they yield sometimes as much as 40 maunds of cleaned rice per acre. Of late years, however, the proportion of unprotected land has increased owing to the extension of rice cultivation to many ridges and uplands, which formerly were considered unfit for it. The result is that considerable areas which used to produce dry crops, like maize and millets, on which the people lived—though in years of plenty these grains were unsaleable—have now been turned into poor rice lands for the sake of the larger profits which rice yields.

On the other hand, the resources of the people in time of famine are largely added to by the number of *mahua* trees which sprang up since 1879 when it used to be said that it was impossible to find a young *mahua* tree in the Santal Parganas—the result of Sir George Campbell's settlements, under which the produce was recorded as the common property of the villages, while the trees remained the property of

the zamindars. Also, in time of scarcity, the labouring classes find relief in emigration, which not only takes away those who are in want, but also induces those employers who require labour to do something to keep labourers at home. Another feature which is noticeable when there is scarcity is the extent to which the aboriginals of the district, such as Santals, Paharias and Bhuiyas, can supplement their scanty fare by fruits and roots, or even support life on jungle products. The contrast in this respect between them and the inhabitants of other districts in Bihar has been described as follows by Mr. W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., formerly Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division, with reference to the famine of 1897.

“ Another fact again made prominent by the scarcity is how much smaller is the margin which separates from absolute want the self-respecting and decent-looking people of Hindustan with their fastidiousness and strict religious observance and those aboriginal or degraded races on the border, whose normal condition is one of dirt and rags, and whose villages and huts are pictures of squalor and apparent misery. The Bauris of the Santal Parganas are the most prominent example. They can use animal food and even carrion, and can sustain life by jungle products unknown in the more popular and civilized tracts. These degraded races are also far more averse to the regular toil by which wages can be earned by relief works than the Hindu and Muhammadan peasantry, and only resort to them in the last extremity and when their children have already suffered from starvation. The races in the north, with whom they are contrasted, take with the greatest order their places on the relief work, as if by signal, when the time has come ; and are careful to see that, however low the wages and rigorous the tests, that time is not postponed till their children have begun to suffer or they themselves have been reduced to apathy and inability to do the tasks by which their food is to be earned.” The justice of this account was proved by the experience of 1897, when the Bauris and other semi-Hinduized aboriginals in the Jamtara subdivision continued to protest against the rigour of test works and generally to give trouble, declaring that they would rather die in their houses than toil on relief works in the sun.

FAMINES.

The following is a brief account of the famines which have visited the Santal Parganas since the district was constituted.

In 1866 famine was caused by the failure of the winter rice crop, of which the outturn was only half to three-fourths of the average. The *bhadoi* crop was, on the whole, not below the average, but food stocks had been depleted by large exports of it, and the *rabi* crop was a poor one. In July 1866 the price of common rice rose to $7\frac{1}{2}$ seers per rupee, and in August to $6\frac{1}{2}$ seers, but there was an abundant harvest of mango and *mahua*, which afforded food to thousands. The people, however, were forced to eat the fruit while still unripe, and the numbers of those who consequently died from cholera were counted by thousands. Famine of 1866.

The rainfall during 1873 was very unequally distributed, varying from 52 inches at Dumka to 24 inches at Rajmahal, and the harvests exhibited degrees of variation corresponding to the capriciousness of the rainfall. The *bhadoi* crop, including maize, millets and pulses, which are less sensitive to abnormal variations of weather than rice, yielded three-fourths of an average outturn, but the winter rice crop was only half an average crop. The outturn was worst in the flat rice-producing lands of Rajmahal, where also the rainfall was most deficient; here only one-fourth of an average crop was harvested. In the Deoghar subdivision half an average crop was saved, while in Dumka the outturn was nine-sixteenths of the average. The *rabi* crop, moreover, afforded no material help, for it could not be sown on more than one-quarter of the area usually devoted to cold weather crops, and even in this reduced area the yield was poor. "But" wrote Mr. A. P. (now Lord) MacDonnell, "what Nature denied to agricultural skill and industry, she to some extent granted unsolicited. The *mahua* tree, which studs the Santal hills and uplands, yielded a bounteous crop of edible blossoms and seeds; the mango fruit, though less abundant last year in Santalia than in more northern regions, was still plentiful, and brought a sensible addition to the food-supply of a simple people who live much on wild fruits and herbs."* Famine of 1874.

The area most severely affected was the Rajmahal subdivision, and after it Godda and Dumka. To judge by the number of labourers employed on relief works, it would seem that very little or no distress existed in the Deoghar subdivision.

*Food-grain supply and Famine Relief in Bihar and Bengal (1876).

The marginal table shows the aggregate number of persons employed on relief work in each of the four subdivisions then constituting the district. The average daily attendance was highest in June, when it amounted to 7,039, while the average daily number relieved gratuitously was highest towards the end of August, when it was 3,511.

Dumka	...	756,480
Deoghar	...	15,660
Rajmahal	...	1,396,740
Godda	...	938,940
Total	...	3,107,820

Famine
of 1897.

In 1896 the rainfall was not only deficient but also unfavourably distributed. There was a drought which lasted till May, a break in the rains from the 20th July to the 20th August, which spoiled the hopes of the *bhadoi*, and a final drought from the 24th September to the 31st December 1896. After that date there was good rain, and the weather became particularly favourable to agricultural prospects, though not to all standing crops. Unfortunately, however, not one in 20 mango trees flowered, whilst the *mahua* blossoms were injured by storms in March, so that the produce was only from a half to two-thirds of the average. The result of the year's crops was that the outturn of the *bhadoi* crop was only 10 annas, and that of winter rice only 8 annas. The early cessation of the rains and the absence of moisture for the cold weather sowings also made the cold weather crops very short; in particular, the oil-seed proved almost a total failure. This followed on a bad season the year before, owing to the same cause—failure of the rains in October—and there was therefore a very short local supply. Owing moreover to the strong demand for grain up-country, very high prices ruled, so that local scarcity was intensified.

Famine was, however, only declared in two tracts in the south-west of the district, one in the Jamtara subdivision covering 367 square miles with a population of 93,000 persons, and the other consisting of the Deoghar subdivision with an area 954 square miles and a population of 284,114. Here there had been a failure of the upland rice and of other upland crops which could not be artificially irrigated except at prohibitive cost. In both areas the country is undulating, fertile valleys being interspersed with jungle and sterile uplands, and the streams which traverse it are practically hill torrents. The population, largely aboriginal, with a marked aversion to regular work, subsists almost wholly on agriculture, the all-important crop being the winter rice; spring crops are of small importance, and the proportion of *bhadoi* crops is less than

elsewhere. Outside these areas there was distress in the Damini portion of the Rajmahal subdivision, and in the Godda subdivision generally, which was met by charitable relief.

For the purpose of carrying on relief operations, a special scheme of organization was prepared in January 1897, the basis of which was the utilization of the local agency by which so much of the district work is done. The principle of the plan was to divide each subdivision into charges, each under an officer of the grade of *kanungo*, and to divide the charges into circles, which were placed under committees of headmen of villages and leading ryots. For each circle the necessary works were selected from the famine programme, and it was ascertained what traders were ready to furnish a supply of food on payment. In the event of scarcity being found to prevail, the charge in which it prevailed was to have a special Superintendent with a sufficient staff, and the circle committees were to have lump sums of Rs. 10 monthly allowed them to cover expenses. The committees were to take the place of circle officers and to be superseded by such officers where necessary. This plan was sanctioned by Government and was followed in the subsequent operations.

For the distribution of gratuitous relief another special scheme was adopted. The plan was to issue tickets to deserving persons entitling them to receive grain doles from dealers appointed for the purpose. The tickets were divided into four parts, each for a week's food, and were not transferable. These tickets, after being exchanged for food with the dealer, were used as vouchers to his bill, and after it was checked, could be restored to the counterfoil and pasted in. This system proved very successful in reducing account work.

The highest average attendance on relief works was reached in Jamtara in the week ending 21st May 1897 and in Deoghar in the week ending 26th June 1897, when the daily average numbers were 3,258 and 1,647 respectively. After this, when the season for ploughing and cultivation came on, there was much fluctuation in the attendance; but in both subdivisions the relief works were finally closed on the 15th August, when the gathering of the Indian corn and *mahua* crops enabled the able-bodied to find employment. In Jamtara the Government relief works consisted exclusively of roads with irrigation dams, where these could be made, on the line of road. In Deoghar the principal work was the excavation of tanks and making

of reservoirs, but as the rainy season approached, road improvement was also begun. All the works were carried out by the civil works agency and none by the Public Works Department. In Jamtara relief works were begun with the task-work system of the Famine Code, but piece-work was introduced after the 1st week of June 1897. In Deoghar piece-work alone was adopted. The total number of workers was 263,375 in Jamtara and 80,453 in Deoghar; and the aggregate number of persons gratuitously relieved from Government funds was 523,614.

Famine
of 1919.

The rainfall in 1918 was scanty in the beginning, excessive in August and there was an abrupt close of the monsoon in September. Besides it was very unequally distributed varying from 72.79 in Rajmahal, 76.07 in Mahespur and 69.52 in Pakaur to 33.88 in Madhupur, 36.13 in Sarwan, 38.26 in Deoghar, 36.46 in Mahagama, 39.63 in Nonihat (Dumka), 40.30 in Godda and 42.06 in Jamtara. The deficit rain at the beginning combined with the heavy rain in August was unfavourable to the *bhadoi* crops. The August rain improved the prospects of the winter rice greatly but the abrupt close of the monsoon in September and the entire failure of the *hatia* rains was fatal. The result was that the outturn of maize was 2 annas in Deoghar, 4 annas in Jamtara, 8 annas in Dumka and 10 annas in Godda and that of winter rice 8 annas in Deoghar, Dumka and Godda and 4 annas in Jamtara. The *mahua* crop which is a great stand-by was also poor being only 6 to 8 annas. In ordinary years an outturn like this would have caused anxiety but nothing more serious would have been required. By this time, however, the effect of the War on prices had begun to be felt in India and concurrently with the failure of crops there had been a large rise in the prices of other commodities such as cloth, oil and salt. The price of rice had been fairly constant between January 1917 and July 1918 at about 11 or 12 seers to the rupee only going lower in December 1917 (15 seers) January 1918 (14 seers) and February 1918 (13 seers). The price obtained for the surplus of the 1917-18 crop by the ryots was not very good; therefore, and when in October 1918, the price suddenly rose to 6½ seers and remained high along with other prices, the margin of subsistence exhausted earlier than would have ordinarily been the case. On the other hand, the outbreak of influenza which occurred in 1918 especially in the coal mines not only

reduced the vitality of the people but removed many bread winners and prevented the people from going so freely to work in the mines, an absorber of labour which is useful when food is not plentiful. The most affected areas were portions of Deoghar subdivision west of the East Indian Railway Main Line and the north-east corner of the Deoghar police-station, the most sufferers being the Santals and the lower Hindu castes. Next to Deoghar were portions of Dumka adjoining Deoghar and portions of Godda bordering on Bhagalpur. Distress also occurred in Jamtara but not to so great an extent. There was practically no sign of uneasiness anywhere till the middle of April 1919 when beggars began to increase in large and the liberal minded Marwaris at different places started free kitchens or distribution of rice doles. Till the middle of May, it was hoped that a liberal distribution of loans under the Land Improvement and Agricultural Loans Acts would meet the situation coupled with private charity which was being given by the Marwaris and the local committees formed under section 40 of the Famine Code. The condition of the people, however, rapidly deteriorated in Deoghar, and by the middle of June, emaciation was noticeable. Physical deterioration was also noticeable in Godda and Dumka. Famine was accordingly declared in Deoghar on 21st June 1919 and steps were taken to meet the scarcity situation in Dumka and Godda out of the funds of the District Committee under Chapter III of the Famine Code.

Famine operations in Deoghar.—The first few days of the famine operation were devoted to the dispersal of the crowd of beggars and destitute persons from Deoghar, Jasidih and Madhupur where the Marwaris started free kitchens or distribution of rice doles. Lists were prepared of all the persons who used to be fed or given grain doles by the Marwaris at each of these centres. Gratuitous relief in cash (at Deoghar and Jasidih) or in grain (at Madhupur where the Marwaris volunteered to supply the grain required) to last for a fortnight or for a lesser period, as the case might be, was given to these persons with instruction to return to, and remain present in, their respective villages. The lists thus prepared were made over to the Circle Officers with instructions to proceed immediately to their respective circles and enter in Register E (1) the names of, and give tickets to, those who after due enquiry in the villages were found deserving and then to distribute gratuitous relief on the next date which was so fixed as to

synchronize all over the subdivision. Poor houses were at the same time opened at these places for those who were homeless or unable to return to their villages. The subdivision was divided into 12 circles, each thana in charge of a Charge Superintendent containing 3 circles. Each circle was again subdivided into 3 smaller circles of convenient size and the circle officers each in charge of a circle, were instructed to keep separate registers for these smaller circles, so that when necessary, a circle might without delay or difficulty be subdivided into these smaller charges. As the operation progressed it was found in the month of August that circles 1 and 2 in thana Deoghar were too large and the amount of work, owing to the degree of distress there, too much to admit of easy management by two circle officers. These two circles were therefore re-arranged into 3 and another circle officer was appointed. The whole subdivision was thus divided into 13 circles. At each circle convenient centres were fixed where the people from neighbouring villages might come and receive gratuitous relief. Local committees were formed for each of these centres as also for each of the three poor houses to assist the circle officers and Superintendents in their work. Arrangement was also made with the importers of Rangoon rice for the sale of this cheap rice at most of these centres. Each of the officers in charge of police-stations was given an advance of Rs. 20 for casual relief under section 56 of the Code. A kitchen was also started at Jagdishpur (a railway station on the Madhupur-Giridih Line) in police-station Madhupur but it had to be kept for a short time only. Relief works were also started at different centres from the beginning of July to the first week of September, but these began to attract labourers only from the last week of August, i.e., after the close of the agricultural operations. From the beginning of September, the number of inmates in the poor houses began to fall and by the middle of it, the poor houses were closed, the few inmates then remaining being either drafted to the relief works or taken into the gratuitous relief lists. The partial failure of the *bhadai* crops of 1919, especially the Indian corn, owing to incessant rains towards the end, delayed the closure of the relief operations which had to be prolonged till after the autumn harvest had been gathered. With the timely fall of the *hatia* rains, the aspects became bright and with the harvesting of the *katka* paddy in October, the number of labourers on the relief works began to fall till the first week of November when most of

them were finally closed. On 15th November 1919, the relief operations were finally closed, valedictory doles being given to the recipients to last up to the 30th November. The total cost of the operation was Rs. 1,29,093 and the number of persons relieved was 116,222 as detailed below :—

	Number of persons relieved.				Cost.
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	
					Rs.
On gratuitous relief ...	2,708	8,988	10,678	22,374	1,07,881
On poor houses and kitchens.	222	356	479	1,057	3,078
On famine relief works	32,045	30,674	10,054	72,773	13,168
On relief works the cost of which was advanced by the District Committee, Santal Parganas.	8,507	8,931	2,580	20,018	4,966
Total ...	43,482	48,949	23,791	116,222	1,29,093

Indirect relief was given in the way of an advance of Rs. 19,980 under the Land Improvement Loans Act in order to enable the well-to-do ryots to start small private works of their own such as reclamation of *bandhs* and tanks, and loans under the Agricultural Loans Act amounting to Rs. 85,000 were advanced from the end of May to the middle of July on the joint and several liability system to enable the ryots to purchase seeds and cattle for their *bhadai* and winter rice crops. Besides a sum of Rs. 30,000 was given out in November with a view to stimulate the cultivation of *rabi* crops.

Scarcity operations in Godda.—The affected area comprised Tappas Barcope and Patsanda and *parganas* Godda and Pasai in which the outturn of paddy crop was less than 8 annas. The bulk of the inhabitants of this area were not aboriginals but mainly Hindus. Scarcity relief operations began on 23rd June 1919 when the tract was divided into 4 circles and circle officers were appointed to take charge of each circle and local committees were formed to attend to distribution of doles by circle officers. The gratuitous relief list reached its maximum numbering 3,466 persons in the 3rd week of July

The situation was gradually but steadily improving and with the avenues for work opened out in the *makai* and paddy fields, it showed a decided change for the better. The recipients of gratuitous relief began improving and numbers of them were seen working in the fields and in the first week of August there were only 2,260 persons in the list. By the middle of August, the harvesting of *makai* (maize) commenced and the gratuitous relief list recorded only 910 persons during the week ending the 6th September. New *makai* and Burma rice were now available and by the middle of the month cheap *marua*, *sakarkand*, and *sathi* and *bhadoi dhan* also appeared in the market. In the 3rd week of September the number on the gratuitous relief list was only 594 persons. In the poor house (only one poor house was opened), there were at this time only 24 persons mostly small children including orphans. The test works were not successful. The labourers who attended the work were all professional labourers. Early in the 4th week of September began the *hatia* rains. Three of the test works had already been deserted and therefore closed. The poor house contained only a few persons and the number on the gratuitous relief list was only 362. The poor house and the remaining test work was closed on the 27th September and the four relief circles were closed between the 29th of September and the 2nd of October. The recipients of gratuitous relief and the inmates of the poor house were given valedictory doles for 14 days enabling them to continue up to the 18th of October. The total cost of the operation was Rs. 18,795 and the number of persons relieved 10,908 as detailed below :—

	Number of persons relieved.				Cost.
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	
					Rs
On gratuitous relief ...	916	2,873	2,720	6,509	15,961
On poor house ...	110	217	411	738	2,061
On test work ...	3,657	...	...	3,657	773
Total ...	4,683	3,090	3,131	10,904	18,795

Scarcity operations in Dumka.—From the second week of April a certain number of needy persons were observed coming into Dumka and Nunihat the Marwaris of which places started free feeding out of subscriptions amongst themselves. In the middle of June, there was an inrush of impoverished people from the distant parts of the subdivision and from other subdivisions and districts into Dumka and Nunihat owing to the free food distributed by the Marwaris. The indiscriminate free feeding caused many deaths from choleric diarrhoea and it was decided that operation under Chapter III of the Famine Code should begin. The free feeding at Nunihat was stopped and, it was restricted to a great deal at Dumka and was stopped altogether with effect from the 25th June when a poor house was opened at Dumka. Between 25th and 28th June three relief circles were opened at Dumka, Nunihat and Hansdiha and test works opened in Dumka and Nunihat. During the week ending the 12th July two more relief circles were opened at Bara and Sareyahat. During the week ending 20th July test works were opened in circles Sareyahat and Jarmundi. A test work at Bara was opened during the last part of July. Thus the affected tract was divided into six circles and test work was opened in each circle and two poor houses were opened at Dumka and Nunihat. There was a gradual rise in the number on the gratuitous relief list up to the 1st week of August when the number rose up to 1,195. Then, when the harvesting of maize commenced the number began to fall and the number on the 23rd August was 829. All the relief circles were closed during the week ending the 20th September when the number on the relief list was only 419. The attendance on relief works was 667, during the week ending 9th August, *i.e.* just before the harvesting of maize and the transplantation of winter rice commenced. It then began to decrease. But during the last week of August when the transplantation was over, the number rose to 729 which was the highest figure reached. In September the number began to decrease and the works were closed on 24th, 25th and 26th September when the attendance in all the six was only 538. The poor house, at Nunihat, was closed on 25th September where there were only seven inmates in it and the poor house in Dumka was closed on 2nd November. The total cost of the

operation was Rs. 18,018 and the number of persons relieved 115,676 as detailed below—

	Number of persons relieved.				Cost.
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	
					Rs.
On gratuitous relief ...	9,526	33,766	26,773	73,055	8,469
In test works ...	11,593	14,385	6,636	32,614	6,823
In poor houses ...	...	...	...	7,997	2,226
Total ...	...	...	...	115,676	18,013

Whatever the distress was in the Jamtara subdivision, it was relieved wholly by charitable relief. The subdivisional Famine Charitable Relief Committee collected a sum of Rs. 4,094-8-0, in cash and spent the whole amount in test works and gratuitous relief and for distribution of rice and cloth in the cutcherry compound.

FLOODS.

Owing to the completeness of the natural drainage of the district, floods are almost impossible over a large area, but narrow stretches of land in the valleys, and considerable portions of the alluvial country lying between the Ganges and the Rajmahal hills, are liable to inundation when the rivers are swollen by sudden rain. In the former tract of country, however, the floods subside after a few days, leaving the crops uninjured; while in the alluvial country any damage done to the lowland crops is compensated by the additional fertility of the high lands.

Flood of 1899.

The only destructive flood since the creation of the district is that which occurred early in the morning of Sunday, the 24th September 1899. This flood was caused by very heavy local rainfall, which began on the afternoon of the 23rd. It continued raining all that night, and the wind, which first blew from the south-east, veered round through south, south-west and west till in the early hours of Sunday the 24th, it became a hurricane from the north-west. The rain gauge at Godda registered 10.12 inches of rain at 8 A.M. that morning, and it ceased raining there at about 10 A.M. The rainfall

extended all over the country from Bhagalpur and the Ganges on the north to the Santal Parganas on the south and Rajmahal on the east; but the centre of the storm appears to have been on the northern slopes of the Damin-i-koh in the Godda subdivision, a hilly tract draining through narrow valleys into the low-lying land south of the Ganges. These slopes discharged an enormous volume of water, for which the river channels, raised above the level of the plain, could not provide sufficient outlet. The swollen rivers swept away the hamlets lying in their upland valleys, and uniting their volume below, poured over the villages in the low lands. Fortunately, the Ganges was low, and the floods, widening the outlets through the bridge on the East Indian Railway, passed away rapidly.

The loss of life was deplorably great both in the Santal Parganas and Bhagalpur. The rivers rose soon after midnight, and in the uplands the villagers were still asleep, and were swept away without the warning that would have enabled them to reach higher ground. The velocity of the flood in its earlier course is shown by the fact that, though 881 men were drowned there, only 69 bodies were recovered. When it reached the plains, the dawn was breaking, and the wall of the advancing waters could be plainly seen. There was, however, no place of refuge on the treeless level, and there no less than 762 persons perished. Thus in all, 1,643 lives were lost, many families wholly disappeared, and in some cases entire hamlets left no trace behind. The loss of property was happily less severe, for though 246 villages were injured, 25,555 huts destroyed, 13,705 cattle and goats drowned, and altogether 123 square miles exposed to the violence of the flood, yet the water passed away so rapidly, that the crops were saved.

In the Santal Parganas 95 villages and upwards of 10,000 huts were destroyed or damaged, 881 lives were lost, and 6,000 cattle were drowned. The floods came down 10 rivers in the Godda subdivision, viz., the Chir, Gonkha, Kajia, Bheria, Parna, Harna, Rajdar, Aincha, Sundar and Khuti. Of these, the Chir is known as the Gerua after it has received the waters of the Gonkha, Kajia, Parna, Harna and Bheria; and the next largest river is the Kajia; but the Harna and the Khuti were responsible for the greatest damage. The severity of the flood was all the greater because the banks of most of the rivers are higher than the surrounding country,

which consequently became flooded to a great depth. In many cases, indeed, a wall of water poured through the villages, averaging from 5 to 12 feet, and the Khuti river was described as being a moving sea. Some idea of its volume may be gathered from the fact that though the flood in this river came down between 5 and 6 A.M., when it was getting light and people were astir, no less than 267 persons were drowned and only 2 dead bodies were recovered.

In spite of the extent of the disaster, but little relief was required. The people, in a spirit of sturdy independence, refused charitable relief except for the immediate needs of the moment and preferred to obtain assistance in the form of loans. Those whose crops were destroyed, and whose fields were covered with sand, declined the proffered alms and turned to sow the sand with castor oil and linseed. In all, only Rs. 1,350 were expended in charity and Rs. 5,982 were advanced under the Agriculturists' Loans Act.

Ganges
flood of
1934.

The flood of August 1934 in the Ganges destroyed all the houses in the diara villages of Narayanpur, Raniganj, Pearpur, Udhua and Palasgacchi in the Rajmahal subdivision. The flood was sudden and severe and the villagers found no time to shift the materials of their houses from one place to another. The distress was removed by the distribution of a sum of Rs. 1,000 out of the Viceroy's Earthquake Relief Fund to the owners of the houses destroyed by flood. The scale adopted for the distribution of the amount was as below :--

	Rs.
(1) Family with one house ...	3
(2) Family with 2 or 3 houses ...	4
(3) Family with houses up to 6 ...	5

Ganges
flood of
1936.

The flood of 11th August 1936 in the Ganges badly affected Sahibganj diara villages Tikulia, Rampur diara, and Harprasad diara in the Rajmahal subdivision but no necessity for gratuitous relief was necessary as the people of the flooded area got their food grains with them. There was no loss of life.

Flood of
Adjai of
1936.

At about the midnight of the 5th October 1936 there was a sudden and abnormal rise in river Adjai and water almost 4 feet high entered village Hathyara situated near Adjai bridge mile 196/8 of the East Indian Railway (Chord line) and the houses being all of mud crumbled and collapsed.

A number of cattle were buried in the ruins and killed. Some cattle were also carried away by the sudden rush of water. Fortunately the loss of human life consisted of only two children who were killed when the houses collapsed over their heads. All the food grains and clothings of the villagers were spoilt by the sudden rush of water into their villages. The villagers were persuaded to vacate their houses and leave the village with the remnants of their cattle and were given shelter and food at Rohini in the Grain Gola at that place.

The terrible earthquake of the 15th January 1934, Earthqu damaged some of the Government buildings, Damin bungalows and medical institutions including the Saldaha Laper Colony. Repairs to these damages were undertaken with the help of the Government grants made for the purpose.

CHAPTER VIII.

FORESTS.

HISTORY.

THE State forests of the Santal Parganas are situated in the Damin-i-koh, a Government estate which was administered direct by Government from 1765 onwards and was excluded from the Permanent Settlement. The early position of Government towards this estate was defined in a resolution recorded by the Government of India in 1823 on the report of Mr. Sutherland. In that resolution it was laid down that the excesses to which the hill people were driven by the cruelty of the zamindars and others to whom they had been abandoned, had obliged Government to resume the entire tract and bring it under its direct management. Government thus succeeded to all the rights previously held by the zamindars, the inhabitants of both the hills and the adjacent forests becoming its direct tenants; the claims of the zamindars to the forests were specifically set aside; and the right of property in the Damin-i-koh was declared to be at the disposal of the State.

In accordance with this declaration, Government assessed rents on cultivation, but went no further, and in 1862, when the question arose of applying the waste land rules to the estate, the Commissioner held that though the Paharias were clearly liable to pay rent whenever Government chose to demand it, they had rights accruing from long occupation. Indeed, Government having been satisfied in 1823 with the mere declaration of its rights, and having never enforced them, the Paharias had come to consider as a right what had been conceded as an indulgence, and had bought and sold the hills as if they were their own property. In these circumstances, the local Government was of opinion that Government could not sell the hills on which the Paharias lived, or which they cultivated; and that if uninhabited hills were granted in order that they might be reclaimed and cultivated, the grants could only be made in accordance with some special arrangement to be come to with the Paharias. The Government of India then decided that the claim of the hillmen to the occupancy of the uninhabited hills in which they derived an income from jungle produce, and which they might at any time bring into cultivation, was too substantial a claim, and

had been too distinctly recognized by Government, to be set aside in favour of new purchasers.

In 1871 a scheme for demarcating Government forests in the estate was brought forward, and an officer was deputed to examine them. According to his report, the area suitable for conservancy was estimated at 200 square miles, but the scheme was abandoned, as it was thought an inopportune time to introduce the Forest Act and Rules owing to the unrest among the Santals. In 1875, the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Richard Temple, again took up the question of conservancy, on the ground that Government had a valuable forest property, which it not only failed to develop properly, but allowed to be cut and wasted recklessly. It was, accordingly, determined to apply the Forest Act and Rules to a portion of the estate; and Dr. Schlich, then Conservator of Forests, recommended, as the result of enquiries made by one of his officers, that a tract south of the Bansloi river (with an estimated area of 40 square miles) should be constituted reserved forest and managed by the Forest Department. This proposal involved the transplantation of 48 Paharia villages and was vigorously opposed by the local civil officers; but, in spite of their protests, Government issued a notification on the 10th July 1876 declaring this tract (now known as the "Old Reserve" with an area of 36 square miles) to be a reserved forest governed by the provisions of Act VI of 1865. It was subsequently discovered that that Act had not been extended to the Santal Parganas, but this defect was remedied by a notification of the 24th July 1876.

Next year the Old Reserve was transferred from the Forest Department to the management of the Deputy Commissioner and the policy to be pursued was laid down as follows:—"The Lieutenant-Governor is of opinion that it is not politic or expedient to introduce a strict system of conservancy into the reserved forest tract in the Santal Parganas. His Honour, therefore, directs that the conservancy of these forests shall rest with the civil officers, who will carry out a rough system of conservancy, preserving the valuable parts of the forests from destruction and regulating the cutting of trees within the boundary of the reserved tract." The officer selected for the administration of this system was Mr. Cosserat, who in 1878 drew up rules for the management of the reserve forest and in 1879 made a settlement of the forest villages. In accordance with his recommendation, Government in 1880 prohibited the cutting of *sal* trees in the settled area of the Damin-i-koh, except

where the Deputy Commissioner sanctioned felling for the purposes of reclamation. Next year the question of extending the system of conservancy was further considered. It was found that the only Paharias who had forest rights of importance, and who were largely dependent on *jhum* cultivation, were the Maler in the north of the Rajmahal Hills, where there was no forest worth reserving. All the valuable forest lay to the south of the river Bansloi, where *jhuming* had practically ceased. It was, therefore, decided that all attempts at conservancy in the Maler country north of the Bansloi should be given up and that the whole wood-bearing area in the Mal Paharia country to the south should be constituted either reserved or open Government forest.

Accordingly, in 1881 the Old Reserve was notified as a reserve forest under Act VII of 1865, and all other waste lands in *tappas* Marpal, Daurpal and Kumarpal (constituting the Mal Paharia country), which were covered with trees or jungle, were declared to be open forest, *sal*, *asan*, *sisu*, *satsal*, fruit and other trees especially marked for preservation being reserved. In 1883 Mr. J. S. Gamble, who, as Conservator of Forests, had examined the forests in the Santal Parganas the year before, proposed that they should be made protected forests and that their management should be made over to the Forest Department, the officers of which were to work under the supervision of the Deputy Commissioner. This proposal was supported by the local officers, and the Indian Forest Act (VII of 1878), which took the place of Act VII of 1865, was extended in 1886 to the Santal Parganas by Regulation III of that year. From this time up till 1931 the "Old Reserve" was considered to have ceased to be reserve forest as there was no notification under section 34 of Act VII of 1878. This was the view taken in paragraph 2 of Bengal Government, Revenue Department letter no. 94-Forests, dated the 6th January 1893 which runs as follows: "it appears clear to the Lieutenant-Governor that the forests to which the term 'Reserved' has hitherto been applied are not reserved under Act VII of 1878 inasmuch as they were set apart by the notification of the 1st June 1881, under Act VII of 1865 to which the term 'Reserved Forests' is unknown. They were known as 'Government Forest' under that Act, though it has been usual of late to call them in an inexact way reserved forests". It was only in 1931 that the Legal Remembrancer, Bihar and Orissa, gave his opinion that the extension of the Indian Forest Act, 1878, to the Santal

Parganas in 1886, did not supersede the notification of 1st June 1881. It continued to be in force by virtue of section 1 of the Forest Act of 1878 and section 6 of the Indian General Clauses Act, I of 1868. The "Old Reserve" did not, therefore, cease to be reserved forest.

Eventually, in 1894 under notification no. 4844-For, dated the 2nd November 1894, all land, the property of Government, which had not been settled with cultivators, was constituted protected forest under the Indian Forest Act, subject to all existing rights of individuals or communities in the Sauria country, *i.e.*, the hilly tract inhabited by the Maler or Sauria Paharias, which covers the Damin-i-koh throughout the Rajmahal subdivision and the north of the Godda subdivision and is bounded on the south by the Torai river, Katni hill and Gangor river. The protected forests so formed were placed in charge of the Forest Department, a Deputy Conservator being posted to the district next year. The departmental system of management was, however, found not to be sufficiently elastic for the Maler. Their *jhum* cultivation was subjected to restrictions, the number of reserved trees was increased, and the removal and sale of timber and forest produce by them were subjected to stricter conditions. Accordingly, in December 1900 the Sauria tract, with the exception of 6,476 acres of 'closed blocks', was transferred from the management of the Forest Department to that of the Deputy Commissioner and his Subdivisional Officers, the area so transferred being 143 square miles. The term "closed block" implies the closure of the blocks to grazing and removal of all forest produce. The blocks to which this restriction applied were—

Names of blocks.	Area in acres.
(1) Khelari (Bungalow Karmatanr) ...	364.55
(2) Gariol or Bhalgaria (Bungalow ... Rajabhita).	1547.80
(3) Dhamnia (Bungalow Boarjore) ...	404.79
(4) Gandeswari or Kasgaria (Bun- galow Simra).	1457.00
(5) Rangamatia (Bungalow Simra) ...	249.50
(6) Mohendi (Bungalow Simra) ...	92.41
(7) Sahapur (including Bhalpahar and Bejampahar).	2359.95

Total ... 6476.00

In 1877, Mr. Wood found these blocks deserted and directed the parganaites to preserve the wood on them. Mr. Oldham when he visited the hills in 1882 found that all but the two western hills were covered with a thick though low growth of sal wood and he directed the Subdivisional Officer of Godda to take strict measures for the conservancy of the tract with a view to have it thereafter made a forest reserve. From this time these blocks came to be known as "closed blocks".

GENERAL
DESCRIP-
TION.

In 1904, the Hazaribagh forests were separated from those of the Santal Parganas which till then were managed as one division. Since then the protected forests, the old reserve and the closed blocks with an area of 292 square miles and situated in the Dumka, Godda and Pakaur subdivisions constitute the Santal Parganas Forest Division. With this has been amalgamated the Khurchutta Range of the Hazaribagh Forest Division with effect from the 1st September 1931. The protected forests now under the management of the Forest Department constitute the Santal Parganas Forest Division. They have an area of 292 square miles and are situated in the Dumka, Godda and Pakaur subdivisions. The best and most heavily wooded portion consists of the "Old Reserve" in the Dumka subdivision, which extends over 38.8 square miles and is situated in hilly country having an elevation of 600 to 1,700 feet. In this tract 3.50 square miles are under cultivation or may be cultivated at the will of the occupants, but the remaining portion is nearly all wooded and is closed to cultivation. In the remaining forests the growth is, as a rule, poor, but some portions are well wooded and contain trees of considerable value, among which *sal* predominates. The forests nearly all occupy hilly country, consisting of hill ranges with gentle slopes and broad rounded crests, and of intervening valleys, which are usually broad. The soil is fairly fertile and deep, but patches of much cut-up country, on which the soil is poor and the growth scant and stunted, occur throughout the Division, especially in the immediate neighbourhood of the hills outside the "Old Reserve."

In all the forest area *sal* (*Shorea robusta*) is found in greater or less abundance, usually accompanied by *kend* (*Diospyros Melanoxyton*), which, however, never attains useful size, and, in the Old Reserve, by bamboos (*Dendrocalamus strictus*). Over a considerable portion of the area *sal* is represented by scattered poles and trees up to, and in some cases

over, 5 feet in girth, this being usually the case on the upper slopes and crests of the ridges. Here also are situated most of the cultivated lands some of which still contain a fair number of trees 3 feet and upwards in girth. In the valleys and along the lower slopes poles of *sal* and other trees are, generally speaking, far more dense, but the crop rarely consists of pure *sal*, and trees of that species with a girth of 3 feet are scarce.

Twenty-three species of trees have been reserved under section 29 of the Forest Act, *i.e.*, they may not be cut, except when under 2 feet in girth, without the written permission of the Forest Officer. Of these the most important, next to *sal*, are *asan* (*Terminalia tomentosa*), *murga* (*Pterocarpus Marsupium*), *ebony* (*Diospyros Melanoxydon*), *salsal* (*Dalbergia latifolia*), *kusum* (*Schleichera Trijuga*), and *Ougeinia dalbergioides*, the last two species being rare. The unreserved trees most commonly met with are *parop* (*Buchanania latifolia*), *hat* (*Holarrhena antidysenterica*), *Nyctanthes arbor-tristis*, *Woodfordia floribunda* and *Croton oblongifolius*. Bamboos are abundant in parts, mostly on the upper slopes and crests of ridges, but few are found in the forests outside the Old Reserve, though a moderate number are obtainable from the hilly parts of the Pakaur and Godda ranges. *Sabai* grass (*Ischaemum angustifolium*) and a coarse form of thatching grass, known locally as *khar*, are found in similar localities and in the depressions on the higher slopes and the summits of the hills.

The most important minor products are the corolla of the flower and the fruit (*korchra*) of the *mahua* tree (*Bassia latifolia*). The former, which is fleshy and sweet, is eaten either raw or cooked, and a coarse spirit is also prepared from it. The outer coat of the latter is eaten raw or cooked, the inner coat is dried and ground into flour, while from the kernel a greenish oil or butter is obtained, which is used for adulterating *ghi*. The propagation of silk cocoons is carried on to a considerable extent, the tree most used being the *asan*. The product of the lac insect is also propagated in large quantities throughout the forests lying outside the Old Reserve, the trees used for the purpose being the *palas* (*Butea frondosa*) and the *bair* (*Zizyphus Jujuba*). Other minor products are :—the fruit of the *amla* (*Phyllanthus Emblica*), *bahera* (*Terminalia belerica*) and *harra* (*Terminalia Chebula*), the fruit of a creeper known as *triphala*, the fruit of the tamarind, *sabai* grass, *ghuting* or *kankar*, *i.e.*, the calcareous

nodules used for metalling roads, white clay, building stone, and coke and coal of inferior quality.

ADMINIS-
TRATION.

The forests under the management of the Forest Department are divided into three ranges, viz. :—

	Square miles.
(1) Dumka Damin range including the old reserve and the Khasmahal Forests of Ghat Mahar, Khajuria and Hathbari.	120
(2) Godda Damin range including closed blocks.	72
and (3) Pakaur Damin range	100

The Dumka Damin range is managed by a Deputy Ranger with the help of two foresters and 14 forest guards. The Godda and Pakaur ranges are each managed by a Deputy Ranger, a forester and 9 forest guards. There are the following *hats* (markets) and toll stations specially set apart for the sale of minor forest produce by the ryots and of timber removed from *jhums* or *kurao* areas by the Paharias.

	Hats.	Toll stations.
Dumka Damin Range	(1) Karudih ... (2) Katikund ... and ... (3) Madhuban ...	} Gepikandar, Jhilimili and Narganj.
Godda Damin Range	(1) Chandna ... (2) Susni ... and ... (3) Dhamni ...	
Pakaur Damin Range	(1) Amrapara ... (2) Hiranpur ... (3) Dharampur ... (4) Litipara ... and ... (5) Darajmath ...	Dumarchir and Parerkola. } Surma, Mohulbona and Bansjore. } Kunjobona and Mohonpur.

All the hats and the toll stations attached to them are annually leased out by auction sale.

In 1928, Government on the recommendation of the Settlement Officer (Mr. J. W. Houlton) declared an area of 5620.68 acres in 8 blocks of protected forests in Godda and Pakaur Damins (known as Houlton's Protected Forest Blocks) closed for thirty years and the exercise of rights was restricted to prescriptions of a working plan for a period of 28 years, with effect from 1st July 1930 (1930-31 to 1957-58). Under notification no. 928, dated 19th September 1930, issued under

section 20 of Act XVI of 1927 forest in village Panchwara in Bungalow Alubera in the Pakaur Damin with an approximate area of 74 acres was declared to be reserved forest known as the "Panchwara Reserve" and under notification no. 9698 of the 28th October 1930, the forest lands in mauzas Hathiabathan Bungalow, Dharampur in the Pakaur Damin were also declared reserved forest known as the "Hathiabathan Lac plantation Reserve". Again under notification no. 13452, dated the 10th December 1932, the closed blocks of Godda Damin with an area of 6461.56 acres were declared reserved forest known as "Godda Damin Reserve", with effect from the 1st February 1933. No systematic plan for the development of the forests outside the old reserve, the Houlton Protected Forest Blocks and the other reserves referred to above, has yet been attempted owing to their distribution and the uncertainty regarding the extent to which the exercise of rights (e.g., of grazing) in them can be regulated. The forests have simply been protected and fellings have been carefully regulated to meet the requirements of the Government Estate ryots, that being the main purpose which they now serve.

The old reserve is being worked on a continuous and systematic plan since it came under the management of the Forest Department in May 1895. From the year 1895-96 coppice fellings on an experimental scale was started by departmental agency on the lower slopes of the hills in more accessible areas. Till the year 1902-03 such fellings extended over only about 155 acres. Since then the area coppiced annually increased gradually and up to 1912-13 the total area coppiced was about 2,404 acres. In the year 1912-13 Mr. McIntire inaugurated a policy of carrying out the felling by contractors instead of by departmental agency, and of gradually increasing the area worked under the coppice system. Later on the coupes began to be sold to local people instead of to contractors thus giving the Paharias a chance to make a living from the working of the forests. Over the rest of the area selection fellings continued till the year 1914-15 when a systematic working plan drawn up by Mr. J. P. Haslett, Divisional Forest Officer, for 15 years from 1914-15 was sanctioned in Government Revenue Department letter no. 4332-R., dated the 9th May 1914. On the expiry of this period, the old reserve is being worked under a revised working plan drawn by Mr. F. A. A. Hart which was sanctioned in Government Revenue Department letter no. 1394, dated

the 1st March 1930 for a period of 10 years, with effect from the 1st July 1929. Under this the more accessible areas covering an area of 18,270 acres are being worked under a system of simple coppice and the upper slopes of the hills or the less accessible areas (3,810 acres) under selection fellings. The bamboos are worked separately under a three-year rotation. The coppice working circles meet the requirements of the ryots and also supply the neighbouring population, which depends entirely upon these forests for its supply of firewood and house building timber. Large sized timber is available from the selection working circle which is divided into 4 felling series in order to place supplies within the reach of all consumers. The work of afforestation was started in 1934-35 in the Godda reserved forests. Past experience has proved that a 30 year rotation is insufficient to produce *sal* poles up to 3 feet in girth.

RELATIONS
WITH THE
PEOPLE.

All Jamabandi ryots of the Damin-i-koh Government Estate are entitled to the privileges accorded to them by the village records-of-rights prepared at the settlement under Regulation III of 1872 in the protected forests in the division.

I. All cultivating ryots outside the limits of bazars may fell, convert and remove to their houses, but only for their own domestic use but not for any kind of transfer whatsoever whether permanent or temporary or absolute or conditional—

- (a) free of charge, all trees and timber of an unreserved species within the limits of the villages in which they reside;
- (b) trees and timber of reserved species—on payment of royalty equivalent to half the prescribed royalty and with the permission of the Forest Officer.

The Deputy Commissioner may, however, grant permits to the cultivating ryots to fell, convert and remove any trees or timber of a reserved species necessary for the reconstruction of houses destroyed by fire or any other natural calamity. Provided that in blocks under a working scheme, no trees may be felled or produce removed except in accordance with the provisions of that scheme.

II. The ryots may remove forest produce other than trees, and timber (bamboos are classed as forest produce)—

- (a) for their own private use—free of charge;
- (b) for sale, gift or barter :—on condition that the transaction is carried out at an authorised *hat*

or toll station and royalty is paid on it at the prescribed rates.

Provided that no royalty is leviable on bamboos of the cultivated species grown by ryots on their own holdings.

III. *Trees grown on a ryot's own holding* may only be cut and then timber removed with the permission of the Forest Officer. Trees that die or fall naturally are at the disposal of the ryots.

IV. No ryot may extend his holding or reclaim waste land without the permission of the Deputy Commissioner granted in consultation with the Divisional Forest Officer.

V. Paharia ryots in Pakaur, Godda and Rajmahal Damins may *jhum* in the areas set apart for the purpose but cannot cut trees over 2 feet in girth in the process of *jhuming* without the written permission of the Forest Officer. Timber cut in the process of *jhuming* are at the disposal of the Paharias, but shall not be removed from the site of the stumps until it has been marked with the Government hammer specially designed for the *kurao* marking, and if sold, it must be sold at authorised forest *hats* where royalty is levied or to persons licensed to purchase timber cut in the process of *jhuming*, and

VI. Ryots may graze free of charge their own cattle anywhere in forest lands within the limits of their own villages.

There is no regular system of fire conservancy in force. *Parganaits*, or the heads of all the villages of a "Bungalow", with the help of the villagers, are required to clear boundary lines and render assistance in the event of a fire breaking out in the forest near their villages. Rules for the protection of the protected forests from fire are framed by the Deputy Commissioner. The protection from fire of the forests of the Old Reserve and the reserved blocks of the Godda Damin is the most important feature of this work, and has been fairly effectively carried out by *parganaits*, headmen and villagers, under the supervision of the Deputy Rangers in charge of these reserved forests. Rules for the fire protection of the reserved blocks have recently been framed by Government.

It was decided in 1900 that the Forest Department constituted in 1895 should have charge of the forests in the portion of the Damin-i-koh Government Estates which lies within the subdivisions of Dumka and Pakaur and a portion

PROTEC-
TION.

FORESTS
UNDER
CIVIL
AUTHORI-
TIES.

of the Sauria Paharia tract of Godda which lies to the south of the Simlong-Sundarpahari road as well as of certain demarcated blocks of that subdivision specially reserved for management by the Forest Department, and the remainder would be managed by the Civil Department. In Bengal Government letter no. 2189-T.R., dated 23rd October 1900 it was directed that the Civil Department should take charge of it, with effect from 1st December 1900 and the establishment for the management under the Subdivisional Officers of Godda and Rajmahal was also sanctioned. In Government letter no. 4460, dated 10th December 1902, it was decided that $\frac{1}{4}$ of the net revenue of the forests under the management of the Civil Department being Provincial share would be transferred to the District Road Fund which became the District Road Committee, with effect from 1st September 1901 when the Cess Act came into force for expenditure towards the benefit of the hillmen in the improvements of the forests in compensating them for abandoning the *Jhuming* system, in terracing their hills and in such other ways as might tend to ameliorate their condition. The total Provincial share of the forest profits averaged Rs. 20,000 and was being received from 1902-03 on calculations of the last completed year. But as the District Committee were not keeping a separate account for this grant and the purpose and object of the grant disappeared it was discontinued in Bengal Government letter no. 1297-T.F., dated 5th October 1909, with effect from 1910-11 and in Government letter no. 28-F., dated 5th January 1910 it was ordered that the question of the forest revenue derived from the district should not be introduced but if assistance was to be given to the district at all, it should be in the shape of a grant from the general revenues, justified on the merits of the application. The Forest establishment sanctioned in 1900 was revised in Bihar and Orissa Government Revenue Department letter no. 3075—IIIF-20-B., dated 4th April 1921. The forests (area 143 square miles) are now managed by two Deputy Rangers, 5 foresters and 22 forest guards and there are two clerks (one at Godda and the other at Rajmahal). There are the following forest *hats* set apart for the sale of minor forest produce and of timber removed from *jhums* or Kurao areas—

In Godda ... Boarjore, Karmatanr, Kero, Rajabhita,
Ratanpur, Simra, Sripur and Telo.

In Rajmahal ... Bakudih, Sahebganj, Mandro, Barhait
Banjhi, Brindaban, Borio, Durgapur, Jonka, Kathgola, Kochpora,
Kusma, Logain, Maharajpur, Mirzachauki, Panchkethia, Pathna,
Rohra, Taljhari, Sakri, Suksena
and Tikruganj.

Receipts from the forests under the Civil authorities which mainly consist of *hat* rent, fuel tax, license and permit fees, sale of wood and compensation, and royalty on *sabai*, amounted to Rs. 59,233 during the year 1935-36 and the expenditure consisting of pay and travelling allowance of the Forest establishment and contingencies including uniforms and repairs to foresters' quarters, was only Rs. 10,955. The receipts are taken into account in calculating the 5 per cent grant for improvement of Government Estates annually placed at the disposal of the District Committee.

CHAPTER IX.

RENTS, WAGES AND PRICES.

RENTS.

THE rent system in the Santal Parganas differs from that prevalent in the Regulation districts of Bengal, because, under the provisions of the Santal agrarian law, rents are settled by officers of Government; when once settled they remain unchanged for a period of 15 years unless enhancement is allowed by the Deputy Commissioner on account of improvements effected by or at the expense of the proprietor; and on the expiry of that period they cannot be altered except by officers of Government working under its direct control. The first special rent law of the Santal Parganas was Regulation III of 1872, which was the result of an agrarian agitation directed chiefly against excessive and arbitrary enhancement of rents by the zamindars. This Regulation empowered Government to order a settlement by which the rents payable by ryots and headmen could be fixed at 'fair and equitable' rates, and by section 19 provided that the rents fixed at the first settlement should remain unchanged for not less than 7 years and thenceforward until a fresh settlement or agreement should be made. In accordance with these provisions a settlement was carried out by Mr. Browne Wood between 1872 and 1879, which was of such importance in the economic history of the district that it may be described at some length.

Rent
settle-
ments.

The settlement of the zamindari estates was completed by November 1878, the rules and principles observed in this part of the operations being as follows:—(1) In 'community' or Santal villages no detailed measurement of the holdings was attempted, but the total area of the village was estimated by local inspection, the system being called *nazar paimaish*, or measurement by sight. In non-community villages, inhabited by Bengalis and others, a measurement of each man's holding was carried out, unless there had been previous measurements of recent date by which the parties were willing to abide. (2) The lands of each village were classified and assessed at varying rates according to the crops grown on them, the best low or rice lands being placed in the first class, and the least productive high lands in the last class.

(3) The rental to be paid to the zamindar by the lessee or headman of the village was fixed at the aggregate of the total assessments on the different classes of land. (4) Existing rents were as nearly as possible maintained, provided they did not vary much from the rates prevailing in neighbouring villages. (5) In non-community villages the amount due from each cultivator was fixed by the Settlement Department; but in Santal villages only a lump assessment for the entire village was made, and the headman and ryots were required to ascertain, by means of a *panchayat*, the quantity of land of each class held by the villagers individually, and to distribute the village assessment accordingly. This system was found to work badly, and the officers had generally to interpose in order to have the distribution of the rent completed. (6) In addition to the rental fixed by the Settlement Officer, the village headman or lessee was declared entitled to levy a commission on each ryot's assessment, as compensation for his trouble in collecting the rents for the zamindar. The commission was reduced proportionately according to the quantity of land held by the headman for his own cultivation. This land was assessed in common with the other lands of the village, but the headman was permitted to hold rent-free, during the continuance of his lease all fresh lands brought under cultivation by himself, and to realize from the ryots half rents on similar lands reclaimed by them.

The results of the settlement in the zamindari estates may be thus summed up. The total rental realized by the zamindars at the time of settlement (exclusive of cesses, which amounted to a very considerable amount) was Rs. 9,96,613, while the total rental fixed by the Settlement Officer was Rs. 10,98,835, giving a clear increase of Rs. 1,02,222 in favour of the zamindars. In spite of the increase of rent, the ryots received very substantial benefits from this settlement. Except in a few estates the rates of rent were found very moderate by the Settlement Officer, but they represented a portion only of the charges with which the ryots were burdened. In addition to rent, there was a multiplicity of cesses, which increased very considerably the amounts taken by the zamindars. It was by disallowing these, and prohibiting their realization in future, that the settlement chiefly benefited the tenants. The total of the imposts of which they were thus relieved cannot be estimated, but it was undoubtedly very large. The settlement, moreover, protected both headmen and ryots from enhancement

at the zamindar's will, and secured them in the enjoyment of the rights attaching to their office and lands respectively, which were notified in the record-of-rights. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the endeavour to maintain as far as possible the existing rents resulted in a great unevenness of the incidence of rental, which, having been scarcely affected by subsequent resettlement, still persists and is likely to be more or less permanent.

The settlement of the Damin-i-koh was commenced immediately after the completion of the zamindari portion of the district, and was brought to a close in September 1879. The estate had been previously settled in 1868, when the Government revenue was raised from Rs. 56,060 to Rs. 1,00,165, the total number of villages ascertained being 1,481. In Mr. Browne Wood's settlement 1,775 agricultural villages and 33 bazars were found and assessed, the total assessment being Rs. 1,77,495. In land revenue alone there was an increase of 80 per cent, but this large increase of revenue was due entirely to the extension of cultivation, and not to any enhancement of the rates of assessment. On the contrary, the average rent settled was a little less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas per *bigha*, whereas the rental of 1868 was estimated to give a general average of $5\frac{1}{2}$ annas per *bigha*.

As in the case of Santal villages in the zamindari estates, no detailed measurement of every ryot's holding was carried out, but the lands of each village were measured and assessed as a whole, the distribution of the total rental among individual ryots being left to a *panchayat* of the villagers. The rates fixed for the different classes of land were less than those in the adjoining zamindari estates, but the benefit of those rates was not extended to non-Santal cultivators. The total cultivated area upon which revenue was assessed was 902,873 *bighas*, and the land revenue upon this amounted to Rs. 1,69,456. The balance of the receipts (Rs. 8,039) was derived from what were termed the "Sundry Mahals" consisting of bazar and fishery rents, a *basauri* tax, *i.e.*, a kind of ground rent levied from non-agricultural tenants, such as weavers and potters, and from a few shop-keepers and *mahajans*.

In 1886 an important change in the rent law of the district was effected by the enactment of Regulation II of that year, which repealed section 19 of Regulation III of 1872, and provided that rents should not be changed except

by the Deputy Commissioner in proceedings instituted under its provisions or by the Settlement Officer in proceedings under Regulation III of 1872. It gave the Lieutenant-Governor power to order settlements under the latter Regulation from time to time, and laid down that rents settled under either Regulation should remain in force for 15 years and thenceforward until a fresh settlement was made. The latter provision was of especial importance, as it did away with the power of altering rents by contract and made it impossible for proprietors to enhance them except under the provisions of this or the older Regulation.

As soon as the new Regulation was passed, applications for a settlement revision began to come in from numerous proprietors. Their request was sanctioned, orders being passed that the cost of the work should be borne by the applicants themselves, and not, as at the 1st settlement, by Government. It was also decided that the revision settlement should be conducted under Regulation III of 1872 and not under Regulation II of 1886, which is better suited for small areas and individual villages than for the conduct of large settlements. The late Mr. Craven was appointed Settlement Officer in 1888 and completed the work of revision in 1894, an area of 1,577 square miles being dealt with. The revision of the settlement of the remainder of the district (excepting the diara tracts excluded from the operations, the Sauria Paharia hills of Godda and Rajmahal and the Paharia villages of the Pakaur Damin which were settled by Maulavi Ekram Hussain in 1895-96) was begun in 1899 and was completed in 1906 having been conducted by Mr. (now Sir) H. McPherson excepting during the last 13 months of that period when the operations were in charge of Mr. H. Ll. L. Allanson, I.C.S., who took up the resettlement of 1,577 square miles resettled by Mr. Craven in 1888-94 and also 13 square miles which had not been resettled since the first settlement of Mr. Wood. The settlement was concluded in September 1910. Pending the settlement operation of Mr. Allanson the rent law was further amended by the enactment of Regulation III of 1907, to enable the Deputy Commissioner, during the currency of a settlement, to allow an enhancement of rents on the ground of improvements effected by, or at the expense of, the proprietor. The Sauria Paharia hills of Godda and Rajmahal with an area of 212 square miles were settled by Mr. S. S. Dey in 1915-16 resulting in a new and practically unexpected net

revenue to Government amounting to Rs. 6,624-1-0. The second revision settlement operations of the whole district excluding the Sauria Paharia hills settled by Mr. Day and the Ganges diara tracts of Rajmahal and including the Paharia villages of Pakaur Damin settled by Maulavi Ekram Hussain, commenced in October 1922 and were concluded in February 1935.

The rent settlement is based on a classification of soils, cultivable land being divided into five classes, viz., three kinds of *dhani* or rice land and two kinds of *bari* or high land. *Dhani* lands are classified according to the degree in which they are protected from drought, viz., first class *dhani*, which is well protected or irrigated, (2) second class *dhani*, which is partially protected, (3) third class *dhani*, which is unprotected, (4) first class *bari*, or land near homesteads, which is well manured and bears more than one crop in the year, and (5) second class *bari*, including the remainder of the cultivation on dry uplands, which is not manured and bears only one crop in the year.

The rent rate of each class of land in the different estates settled by Mr. (now Sir) H. McPherson and Mr. Allanson are given in Appendix IV of their settlement final report. The rates differ in localities, the Damin rates being lower than the rates in the zamindari estates. The table below shows the incidence of rent settlement in these settlements.

	Zamindari Estates.	Damin-i- koh.	Total.
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Dhani	764,646	176,193	940,842
Bari	729,473	199,074	928,547
Total ..	1,494,122	375,267	1,869,389
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Rent at settlement rates	19,54,967	3,71,759	23,26,726
Settled rent for first 5 years of settlement.	16,12,719	2,48,858	18,61,577
Settled rent from the 6th year onward.	16,87,292	2,67,929	19,55,221
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Average rent per acre from the 6th year of settle- ment.	1 2 1	0 11 6	1 0 9

The rents were settled under rates sanctioned by Government in letter no. 1814, dated the 5th April 1900 which, in order to mitigate the hardship of sudden rent enhancement limited the enhancement of existing rent as below :—

- (a) For the first 5 years of settlement, the existing rent was not to be enhanced by more than 50 per cent unless the rent as thus enhanced was still less than half the rent calculated at village rates, in which case it might be further enhanced up to that amount.
- (b) For the remaining period of settlement, the existing rent of a holding was not to be enhanced by more than 10 per cent, unless the rent thus enhanced was still less than two-thirds of the rent calculated at village rates, in which case it might further be enhanced up to that amount.

As regards improvement, the rules provided that if a raiyat could prove that improvement in the class of his land had been caused by his own efforts during the currency of the expiring settlement, such exertion not being in the ordinary course of agriculture but a special undertaking, such as the making of a band to catch water, or the blocking and reclaiming the bed of a water course, he might claim that the land in question should for the new settlement be placed in its natural class and not in the class to which it had been raised by his improvement.

Following these principles, 20 per cent of the rent was remitted for the first 5 years of settlement and 16 per cent from the 6th year.

In the second revision settlement of 1922-35 revised rules for the settlement of rents were sanctioned by Government in letter no. 2347, dated the 26th March 1934 in which it was decided that the old rates should be ordinarily maintained, that no rate should be altered without the previous sanction of the Commissioner and that all lands under cultivation should be assessed at the settlement rate and the full rents thus calculated should be settled for the whole term of the new settlement. But in order to modify excessive increases the so called Sambalpur rate was applied, under which if the new rent so obtained by the settlement rates exceeded the old rent by more than 25 per cent, then the mean between the rent at settlement rates, and the old rent increased by 25 per cent is settled as fair. The old rate rents fixed during the settlement

of Mr. (now Sir) McPherson were maintained everywhere except in the non-Santali villages of Tappa Patsanda where the rent rates of Dhani lands were raised as below.

		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.
Dhani 1st	... from	1 8 0	to	2 0 0
Dhani 2nd	... from	1 0 0	to	1 8 0
Dhani 3rd	... from	0 12 0	to	1 0 0

The incidence of settled rent in the second revision settlement (1922-35) has been Rs. 1-3-6 per acre in the zamindari estates and Re. 0-13-3 pies in the Damin-i-koh as detailed below :—

	Zamindari Estates.	Damin-i- koh.	Total.
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Dhani	967,907	228,202	1,196,109
Bari including 11,482 acres of Kurwa.	799,208	232,964	1,032,172
Bari in Pakaur and Raj- mahal Damins.	..	..	..
Total	1,767,115	461,166	2,228,281
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Rent at settlement rates	24,01,438	4,31,434	28,32,972
Settled rent	21,53,715	3,80,578	25,34,293
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Average rent per acre ..	1 3 6	0 13 3	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Settled rent at previous settlement.	16,75,733	2,71,880	19,47,613
Percentage of increase in the revision settlement.	28.5	28.6	30.12

Regarding the increase in rent, Mr. P. T. Mansfield, I.C.S., in paragraph 26 of his note dated 14th July 1933 on the results of different methods of rent settlement adopted in different districts of Bihar and Orissa writes as below :

“The system used in the Santal Parganas may be criticised on the ground that a man who improves his land in such a

way that the classification is raised, is penalized by an increase of rent. The procedure adopted is practically automatic, and the first thing that the raiyat knows about his new rent is that it is read out to him at the moment that it is attested. In a district such as this where cultivation has largely increased and where rate rents are higher than they are for instance in parts of Chota Nagpur, the increase of rent would have been high if it had not been for the application of the Sambalpur rule. This rule operates in a large proportion of cases but in spite of its application the percentage of increase of rent has been more than in most other settlements."

The only areas in which *jamabandi* or occupancy ryots are assessed to rent for homestead lands are the *khas* Bengali villages along the borders of the Birbhum, Murshidabad, and Malda districts. In *pargana* Sultanabad there is a curious custom by which each village pays a fixed sum for its homestead lands, the ryots themselves arranging what amounts shall be paid by the individual villagers. The total contribution amounts to Rs. 1,500, and is dedicated by the proprietor to the worship of Singhabahini, the tutelary goddess of the *pargana*. In other parts of the Bengali area there are fixed rates for homestead land, and the amount payable by each ryot is amalgamated with his ordinary agricultural rent. In the *khas* villages of *pargana* Muhammadabad, Brahmans, Kayasths, Baidyas, Rajputs, Vaisyas and Muhammadans are privileged classes exempted from the payment of homestead rents.

The rents of non-agricultural tenants are called *basauri*, and there is a distinction between them and bazar rents, which, however, is more or less nominal. Where non-agriculturists are congregated together in bazars, they are called bazar tenants: when they are scattered about agricultural villages, they are called *basauri* tenants. The bazars of the Damin-i-koh were, in Mr. McPherson's settlement, divided into 3 classes according to their importance, and rent rates varying from 3 annas to Re. 1 per *katha* were fixed for each class, according to the class of land and of its holder, traders paying different rents from artisans, labourers, etc. For *basauri* tenants outside bazars the rates were fixed at 6 annas per *katha* for traders and at 3 annas per *katha* for non-traders.

Produce rents were at one time prevalent in the Godda subdivision, where, under the *bhaoli* system, the ryot retained half the produce of his land and made over the other half to

his landlord, but at the first settlement, under the powers given to him by law, Mr. Wood abolished the system and substituted cash rents at village rates. "This system," writes Mr. W. B. Oldham "in its essence was one of temporary arrangements suitable for persons on terms of confidence, intimacy and equality, like friends and relatives, or agriculturists and their farm labourers, or among fellow villagers. But when these contracts were entered into as a permanent system between proprietors and alien tenants like the Santals, they were invariably attended with great abuses. The abuses Mr. Wood discovered were allied to those attending the system of servitude by debtors, against which Sir William Robinson had waged war. Mr. Wood substituted fair and equitable money rents.

After the first settlement the *bhaoli* system made its reappearance in the shape of contracts between ryots and their under-tenants. It was a convenient form of sub-lease for usurers, who during the first decade after Mr. Wood's settlement purchased ryot rights, but were unable to cultivate the lands themselves. The growth of the practice was checked by the courts ruling that a ryot could not recover rent from his sub-lessee at higher than village rates, and later by the provisions of section 25 of Regulation II of 1886, which enabled the Deputy Commissioner to protect an actual cultivator from eviction. This section was applied to *bhaolidars* until 1896, when Mr. W. B. Oldham, the then Commissioner, ruled that a *bhaolidar* was not protected by it and might be evicted by the courts without the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner on the application of the original ryot, provided that such application was not to be granted till the *bhaolidar* had reaped his crop, and no demand of rent was to be enforceable through the courts.

At Mr. McPherson's settlement special orders were passed regarding the status of *bhaolidars*. It was laid down that a *bhaolidar*, i.e., a person cultivating land and giving a share of the produce to his landlord as consideration, when holding under a ryot, was not ordinarily to be recognized as a sub-lessee or to be recorded at all, provided that when the *bhaolidar* had been cultivating the same land continuously for 12 years or upwards, or had been led to expect that his occupation would be permanent, he should be recorded as the *jamabandi* or occupancy ryot. Where the *bhaolidar* was a resident ryot paying *bhaoli* rent for land originally on the village *jamabandi*

to a person who had not acquired a right of occupancy by actual cultivation of the land, the *bhaolidar* was recorded as the *jamabandi* ryot. Special rules were also laid down regarding *bhaolidars* holding under *pradhans* or under landlords in *khas* villages. It was provided that if the land held by the *bhaolidar* was such as the *pradhan* or landlord was bound to settle with the village ryots at settlement rates, the *bhaolidar* should be made a *jamabandi* ryot if he was resident ryot or otherwise duly qualified to be a cultivating ryot of the village. If, however, he was an outsider who should not be admitted to the village, he was to be evicted and the land settled with duly qualified *jamabanāi* ryots. Where the land held by the *bhaolidar* was the *pradhan's* true private *jot* or the landlord's true *nij-jot*, *khas kamat* or *sir*, the *bhaoli* contract was not to be recognized at all. In its prohibition of sub-letting either on cash or produce rents, the settlement record makes an exception of temporary arrangements entered into by ryots for the cultivation of their lands on account of sickness, loss of plough cattle, temporary absence and the like exigencies.

The following table shows the rates of daily wages paid ^{WAGES.} for different classes of labour during the years 1895-1936 :—

Year.	Masons.	Carpenters.	Coolie (male- adult).	Coolie (female- adult).
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1895 ..	0 4 0	0 4 0	0 2 3	0 1 6
	to	to	to	
	0 8 3	0 8 9	0 2 6	
1900 ..	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 0	0 1 3
	to	to	to	to
	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 3 0	0 1 6
1906 ..	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 0	0 2 0
	to	to	to	to
	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 3 6	0 3 0
1909 ..	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 2 0	0 1 6
	to	to	to	to
	0 12 0	0 10 0	0 3 0	0 2 0

Year.	Masons.	Carpenters	Coolie (male- adult).	Coolie (female adult).
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1920 ..	0 4 0 to 0 12 0	0 4 0 to 0 12 0	0 3 0 to 0 7 0	0 2 6 to 0 4 0
1924 ..	0 6 0 to 0 14 0	0 6 3 to 0 14 0	0 3 6 to 0 6 0	0 2 0 to 0 4 0
1929 ..	0 8 0 to 1 0 0	0 8 0 to 1 0 0	0 4 0 to 0 6 0	0 3 0 to 0 7 0
1936 ..	0 8 0 to 0 12 0	0 8 0 to 0 12 0	0 2 6 to 0 4 0	0 2 0 to 0 3 0

Up to 1929 there has been a steady rise in the wages paid for labour largely owing to the increasing demand for labourers caused by the extension of building operations specially in Madhupur and Deoghar and also by the working of collieries in Deoghar and Jamtara, stone quarries in Pakaur and Rajmahal. The rates of wages have come down since October 1930 when the economic depression set in and the lac market collapsed. Up till 1925, the system of paying labourers in kind was common, particularly in the case of landless labouring cultivators called Krishans to whom the owners of the land used to give one-third of the produce, the lessor supplying the seeds and ploughs and the actual cultivator supplying the labour. Mr. Davies as Settlement Officer investigated and exposed the hidden evils of this *Krishani* system and it has been decided by Government that where the actual cultivator bears the whole or any considerable part of the risk of vicissitudes of the season he is a sub-lessee and not a labourer and sub-lease on produce rent is illegal alienation and both the lessor and the lessee are liable to eviction under section 27 (3) of Regulation III of 1872. Infringement of the well-established principle of Santal

Parganas Tenancy Law that rent cannot be recovered at higher than settlement rates from the person in cultivating possession, nor any system, which would tender to foster the exploitation of the actual cultivators by middlemen is not countenanced. Raiyats who desire to preserve their raiyati rights intact must cultivate their lands themselves or by hired labour, which does not cover the system of cultivation known as *Krishani*.

The following account of the supply of labour in the Supply of
Santal Parganas is quoted from a report submitted by the labour.
Deputy Commissioner in August 1907. "Labourers migrate from the Santal Parganas in large numbers annually, some to a distance for long periods, others to neighbouring districts for short spells, while field-work at their homes is slack. The tea gardens of Assam and Bengal have a great attraction for the people of this district; and the sturdy Paharias and industrious Santals alike make excellent tea garden coolies. Both resent too much restraint and require tactful management, which, however, is well repaid. They expect frequent holidays, but while at work they labour hard. Their favourite drink, *pachwai*, at times renders them unfit for work, but it is thought by some to be a preventive against malaria. The coal-mines are in ill-repute with the Santal, for many a cooly has been lured to Raniganj by promises of well-paid work, and thence hurried off to Assam against his wish. Prejudices die hard, and it may be long before this one is removed; meanwhile, both gardens and collieries suffer. Still, the supply of labour to the mines from this district is considerable, and it is not likely to fall off. Jamtara and Deoghar are within easy reach of Asansol, and the fear of bad livelihood prosecutions drives many bad characters from the Dumka subdivision to the mines.

"Eastern Bengal and the country near the Ganges attract many agricultural labourers from the Santal Parganas, and Malda and Dinajpur many earth-workers. This year some 700 coolies have been supplied by this district for local works in various places, viz., the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Chittagong town, Rangamati, Jessore and the Sundarbans. The first demand for this kind of labour came from the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where the men were handled with such tact that they came forward in large numbers for similar work elsewhere. The Sundarbans men, however, are discontented, and those sent to Jessore have actually deserted.

The probability is that volunteers will now be scarce for other places than the Hill Tracts and possibly also the town of Chittagong. Deoghar supplies a few men to the jute mills near Calcutta and others to Calcutta itself as porters and coolies. The main factors which determine the extent of migration from this district are the harvests and the *mahajans*; and the best season for recruitment is January or February."

This account still holds good. In 1916-17 and 1917-18, eleven thousand labourers were recruited from this district for the Mesopotamia and the France labour Corps and 1,493 labourers for the Telegraph Engineering Department, Akayab. In 1922-23, 1,263 coolies were recruited for Tata Nagar. The recruitment for the tea districts in Assam and Duars for 12 years ending March 1936 is shown in the margin.

It will be seen that the recruitment was the highest in 1927-28 and there has been a gradual fall and it was only 236 in 1935-36 due to lesser demand for labour resulting from the slump in the tea trade. This year, on account of failure of crops in the neighbouring districts of Birbhum and Burdwan the Santals failed to obtain employment as harvest time labourers during their annual exodus to these districts and came back without earning any money.

PRICES.

The average prices (in seers and chittaks per rupee) of common rice, wheat, barley, gram, maize and salt at the headquarters station of the district during the last fortnight of March during the last 30 years are given below :—

		Common rice.	Wheat.	Barley.	Gram.	Maize.	Salt.
		Sr. ch.	Sr. ch.	Sr. c ^h .	Sr. ch.	Sr. ch.	Sr. ch.
1905-06	...	12 15	11 9	19 3	14 9	19 4	14 2
1906-07	...	9 2	9 13	12 14	11 8	13 2	14 5
1907-08	...	7 4	8 7	10 3	10 2	11 11	17 2
1908-09	...	10 10	9 0	11 0	13 5	12 0	16 0

	Common rice.	Wheat.	Barley.	Gram.	Maize.	Salt.
	Sr. ch. 15 0	Sr. ch. 8 0	Sr. ch. 13 0	Sr. ch. 11 0	Sr. ch. 23 0	Sr. ch. 13 0
1909-10 ...	15 0	8 0	13 0	11 0	23 0	13 0
1910-11 ...	16 8	11 0	18 0	17 0	27 0	16 0
1911-12 ...	13 12	10 0	13 0	12 8	20 0	16 0
1912-15 ...	8 0	7 0	9 0	9 0	10 0	16 0
1917-18 ...	14 0	8 0	16 0	11 6	20 0	10 8
1918-20 ..	7 0	5 0	6 0	5 12	10 0	12 0
1920-22 ...	8 0	5 0	8 0	7 0	13 0	11 0
1922-23 ...	10 0	7 8	10 0	10 0	14 0	10 0
1923-24 ...	9 0	9 0	10 0	12 0	12 0	9 8 ^a
1924-25 ...	8 0	5 0	5 0	8 0	10 0	13 8
1925-28 ...	6 4	6 0	9 0	7 4	9 0	13 0
1928-29 ...	8 0	6 0	8 0	6 8	8 0	13 0
1929-30 ...	10 0	8 0	10 0	9 0	15 0	13 0
1930-31 ...	13 0	9 4	15 0	11 0	20 0	14 0
1931-32 ...	16 0	9 0	16 0	12 0	21 0	13 0
1932-33 ...	16 0	10 0	20 0	13 0	22 0	14 0
1933-34 ...	16 0	10 0	16 0	13 0	22 0	13 0
1934-35 ...	13 0	10 0	16 0	14 0	16 0	13 0
1935-36 ...	12 0	10 0	16 0	14 0	16 0	14 0

The figures indicate the fluctuation of the price of common rice and maize which are the staple foods of the people. Excluding the good years of harvest, high prices ruled up till 1928-29 and considerably straitened the circumstances of persons living on small fixed incomes, but caused a marked rise in the wages of day labourers. The cultivators being able to dispose of their produce at better prices benefited by the rise. Since the economic depression set in the prices have gone down to such an extent that the agriculturists are feeling considerable difficulty in paying their rents and in purchasing other necessities of life.

The ryots of the Santal Parganas enjoy several special privileges under the agrarian laws passed for the district. Their rents have been settled by Government officers and cannot be enhanced during the term of the settlement, except on the ground of improvements effected by, or at the expense of, the proprietor. They are protected against *mahajans* by section 6 of Regulation III of 1872, which lays down (1) that interest on any debt or liability for a period exceeding one year shall not be decreed at a higher rate than 2 per cent per mensem, and no compound interest arising from any intermediate adjustment of accounts shall be decreed; (2) that the total interest decreed on any loan or debt shall never exceed one-fourth of the principal sum if the period be not more than one year, and shall not in any other case exceed the principal of the original debt or loan. It must be admitted, however, that this usury clause has not been altogether effectual, for the *mahajan* often succeeds in making his own terms by the simple expedient of stopping the credit of his debtors without having recourse to the law courts. The ryots are further secured in the possession of their lands by a provision of law prohibiting the transfer of ryoti rights; and in Santal villages the communal system has been preserved, the village community as a whole holding the village lands and having collective rights over the village waste. So long as a member of the community cultivates his lands and pays his rent to the *pradhan*, or village headman, his lands are his exclusive property. If he fails to pay his rent or wishes to leave his village, his lands revert to the community and the *pradhan* disposes of them. There is, moreover, a safeguard against the latter abusing his authority in that he can be dismissed by the Deputy Commissioner for misconduct. This communal system has fostered and developed a spirit of co-operation of which the results are apparent in many directions. "When," writes Mr. H. McPherson, "one looks back on the enormous improvements that have been effected during the last 30 years by the ryots of the Santal Parganas without any help from Government or the zamindars, as evidenced by the extension of cultivation, the rise in the class of lands, and the number of *bandhs* that are studded all over the district, one may fairly say that the village community of the Santal Parganas is sufficiently self-reliant".

The district having been cleared from jungle within a century, there has been a rapid extension of the area under

cultivation. Although there has been considerable immigration, this expansion has been such as to give comparative ease to the cultivating classes, and it has been accompanied by a marked improvement of the land under cultivation, inferior lands being converted into rice fields, etc. Symptoms of pressure are, it is true, appearing, as the country has been cleared in many parts and inferior land is now being taken up; but, on the whole, there is no severe pressure, and, the chief grain crops being maize and rice, the double staple reduces the risk of famine. The holdings of the ryots are adequate, the average area of ryoti holdings for which separate rents have been settled at the last revision settlement (1922-35) being 5.3 acres with a rent of Rs. 6-12-0 and the average area of the village headman's *nij jote* (private holdings) is 20.7 acres. It is only natural to find that the average headman's *jote* is about four times the size of the average ryoti holding, for the headman is selected from the wealthier and more influential ryots of the village. "The Santal Parganas ryot" says Mr. (now Sir) H. McPherson, "has a larger though in most cases perhaps a poorer holding than the average ryot elsewhere, and to counterbalance the poverty of his *jote*, he has a lower rent to pay. The average does not exceed one rupee per acre".

Up till 1929 some section of the community had considerable stress and hardship owing to partial failure of crops in certain years and on account of high prices. The classes most affected were the landless day labourers and the poor agriculturists whose indebtedness to the *mahajans* prevented them from having sufficient food stock for the support of their families. On the other hand, substantial cultivators being able to dispose of their produce at better prices benefited by the rise. At the end of 1930, there was sudden and heavy fall in the prices of all food grains. The labouring classes benefited materially by this: The agriculturists on the other hand found it difficult to dispose of their produce at a profit and the tenants in general complained of difficulty of getting ready money to meet their obligations. This state of things still continues and the continued low prices obtainable for agricultural products has resulted in a shortage of

money everywhere rendering the payment of rent by raiyats a matter of considerable difficulty. The Co-operative banks which lend money to affiliated societies for certain specified objects do not replace the ordinary moneylender for all the domestic and social needs of a borrower. So the indebtedness of the peasantry and consequent surreptitious and illegal alienation of land by raiyats to the *mahajans* is on the increase. The Damin ryots however, obtain considerable help from the Damin grain *golas* and the flower of *mahua* and other jungle produce and roots help to support the aboriginals in lean years. The Santals, who form a large portion of the population, are particularly well off, for their rents are low and their wants are few; they have good houses, pigs, poultry, sheep and goats, besides buffaloes and cattle. As a rule, they get three meals a day, the morning meal being composed of stale rice and salt or vegetables, while the meals at midday and at night consist of a plate of rice, *dal* and vegetables, also sometimes meat or fish. Besides this, they eat birds and animals of all kinds and the fruit of the *mahua*, *sal* and *kend* trees. After *janera* and *kodo* have been harvested, they are frequently eaten to make some change in the daily food, besides jungle produce and vegetables; and occasionally fruits such as mango, jack, custard-apple and melon are eaten as a luxury.

The Paharias, on the other hand, especially those in the west of the Rajmahal Hills, are in a state of great poverty, living from hand to mouth, owing largely to their drunken habits and idleness. Government more than a century ago endeavoured to induce them to clear and cultivate the plains, but failed to do so. The Santals cleared and occupied the tracts in which the Paharias used to hunt and collect forest produce, and the latter were driven back up the hills and penned in there. Now in many parts they have not enough to live on, and the little they have they waste in drink. This is no new feature.

As regards other classes of the community, artisans are as a rule fully employed. The labouring classes consist chiefly of agricultural labourers, who are engaged as a kind of voluntary bonds-men by cultivators whose object it is to have

cheap labour available when required. The bond is voluntary, the labourer can always emigrate, and he has the advantage of being sure of support in the slack season. Generally speaking those labourers that are unable to obtain steady employment at home go abroad to work on the railways, in the metropolitan districts, or in Eastern Bengal and the tea gardens of Assam.

It is convenient to include under this chapter an account of the co-operative movement which has come into being and the grain golas in the Damin-i-koh Government Estates in Sankara Wards Estates and of those in the Deoghar Subdivision, which are of material help to the people in time of need and save them from the clutches of the Mahajans.

The idea of starting grain golas for the benefit of the Damin ryots first occurred to Mr. C. H. Bompas who was Deputy Commissioner of the district from 31st October 1900 to 1st February 1906 and by August 1902, he got 7 grain golas in the Dumka Damin and 3 grain golas in the Godda Damin constructed at a cost of Rs. 1,16,000 sanctioned by Government. In 1905-06, a new grain gola was constructed at Silingi in the Dumka Damin and in 1907 a new gola was also constructed at Rajabhita in the Godda Damin. In 1911, Mr. Allanson who was the Deputy Commissioner at the time submitted a report to Government on the creation of the Damin grain golas and the system of their control and supervision by the Subdivisional Officers suggesting extension of the system to Pakour and Rajmahal Damins. This was approved in Bengal Government letter no. 2394 dated the 8th August 1911 which also directed that the general supervision of the banks would remain in the hands of the Deputy Commissioner. In 1912, two grain golas were constructed in the Rajmahal subdivision at a cost of Rs. 2,500 lent from the Dumka Damin golas which also lent Rs. 500 for the starting of the golas. In this year 4 golas were started in the Pakour Damin with Rs. 700 in cash and 500 maunds of paddy lent from the Dumka Damin golas. In 1915-16, the Damin grain golas of Pakour, Rajmahal and Godda were registered under the Co-operative Credit Societies Act. The Dumka Damin grain golas (at present there is a grain gola at each of

GRAIN
GOLAS
AND
CO-OPERATIVE
SOCIETIES.

the 9 Damin Bungalows) have no concern with the Co-operative Societies Act or the Co-operative Department. They are managed by a committee consisting of the Subdivisional Officer, the Divisional Forest Officer, Kanungo and all the 9 Parganaits of the Dumka Damin.

In the Godda Damin there are at present 7 grain golas at Boarjore, Simra, Dahuai, Rajabhita, Karmataur, Sunderpahari and Chandna. In the Rajmahal Damin, there are 11 grain golas, viz., 6 at Bungalow Barhait, 3 at Bungalow Borio, 1 at Bungalow Raksi and 1 at Bungalow Mandro. Though the Godda and the Rajmahal Damin grain golas are registered co-operative societies, they are run by the Subdivisional Officers as Government organizations and in the case of these golas many of the technicalities of the Act and the rules are ignored. Up till 1920-21, there were five grain golas in the Pakour Damin at (1) Simlong, (2) Parerkola, (3) Litipara (4) Amrapara and (5) Hiranpur. In that year the golas were abolished in view of the fluctuations in the market and the annual loss caused by rats and other causes. The registration of the Pakour Damin grain golas under the Co-operative Societies Act was cancelled by notification no. 16467, dated the 28th September 1936 and the golas are now managed by the Subdivisional Officer on the lines of the management of the Dumka Damin grain golas. Outside the Damin-i-koh, grain bank was started by the Sankara Wards Estate in the Dumka Subdivision in year 1892-93, with Rs. 500 paid out of the funds of the estate and in 1905, the estate also paid Rs. 1,071-3-9 for the construction of grain golas at (1) Manjhiara, (2) Gando and (3) Baromesia. The golas are managed by the Manager of the Estate.

In the Deoghar Subdivision, in the year 1897, when there was a great famine in the district, the Rohini and Punasi estates under the Court of Wards lent to the ryots Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 1,000 respectively and recovered the amount in paddy with interest at 50 per cent which formed the nucleus of the Deoghar Grain Bank. Two grain golas were started which were eventually made over to the Deputy Commissioner in the year 1903 at the instance of Mr. Bompas. At that time, the Co-operative Societies Act of 1904 was on the anvil and these golas attracted prominent attention.

Other golas were started with subscription realised from ryots and the profits of the two golas named above. They came to be called agricultural banks in course of time. As a result of the interest taken in this movement by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, 36 grain lending societies were organised in 1908, of which 3 are still working. These grain lending societies were, however, not registered as Co-operative societies. The number of grain golas under the grain bank is now 10. The grain bank is working in close association with Deoghar Central Co-operative Union, Limited, which started working in the Deoghar Subdivision in the year 1925-26. The Co-operative Union, Limited, received an annual contribution of Rs. 1,200 from the grain bank (which is separately run under the control of the Subdivisional Officer) for the supervision of the grain golas and for the office work of the grain bank.

Co-operative Societies were first introduced in the non-Damin area of the Sadr Subdivision of the district about the year 1918 by the Benagaria Mission authorities. The next development was the organisation of a local committee in 1927 with the Sadr Subdivisional Officer as ex-officio Chairman and the Dumka Central Union, Limited, was finally registered and it started work in 1928. The area of the Union's operation which was originally confined to the Sadr Subdivision was extended in 1933 by the inclusion of the non-Damin tract of the Pakour Subdivision. Co-operative Societies were started in the year 1925-26 in the other subdivisions of the district. The Jamtara Central Co-operative Union, Limited, has a building of its own presented by the public in commemoration of the work done by the late Subdivisional Officer-Chairman, Rai Bahadur A. D. Banerjee. The Rajmahal Central Co-operative Union, Limited, has also got a building of its own constructed on 0.63 acre of land relinquished by the East Indian Railway authorities and made over to the Union in 1929 on payment of Rs. 945 as its nominal price. The Deoghar Central Co-operative Union, Limited, has got a lease of a portion of the cutchery compound at Deoghar for the construction of its own building. The offices of the Dumka and the Godda Central Co-operative

Union, Limited, are located in the respective subdivisional offices. The following figures will show the expansion of the movement up to the year 1936 :—

		Central Co-operative Union, Ltd., at—				
		Dumka.	Deoghar.	Rajmahal.	Jamtara.	Godda.
Number of members.	Individuals ...	12	6	16	4	16
	Agricultural Societies.	134	197	78	102	72
	Non-agricultural Societies.	8	...	1	...	...
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Paid-up share capitals		6,760	17,310	25,140	12,540	6,490
Deposits held at the end of the year.		35,118	1,05,338	1,02,710	61,940	15,107
Working capital		89,400	1,43,549	2,75,879	91,863	26,173
Reserve fund ...		322	3,850	14,633	5,847	220
Cost of management...		5,199	7,466	5,255	3,106	2,527

Of the 8 non-agricultural societies in Dumka, 7 are weavers' societies and 1 is a shoe-makers' society.

CHAPTER X.

MINES. MANUFACTURES AND TRADE.

The chief localities in which coal has been worked or ^{Mines.} exists are:—(1) The Brahmani coal-field, between Masania ^{Coal} and Saldaha on the Brahmani river; (2) Pachwara coal-field ^{Mines.} in the Bansloi valley; (3) the Chaparbhitia coal-field in the Gumani valley; (4) the Harra coal-field north and south of Simra on the western face of the northern portion of the Rajmahal hills; (5) the Kasta coal-fields in the Jamtara subdivision; and (6) the Jainty coal-fields in the Deoghar subdivision. The table below gives statistics of the mines at work in 1935:—

Names of Mines.	Date of opening.	Output in tons in 1935.	Nature of mining power.
DEOGHAR SUBDIVISION.			
Jainty Central Colliery ...	9th February 1914 ...	25,826	Mechanical power.
Saha-juri Colliery ...	9th February 1916 ...	1,624	Hand labour.
Damgarha Colliery ...	16th November 1923	2,065	Ditto.
Saharjuri Khas Colliery ...	23rd March 1931 ...	1,811	Ditto.
Jainty Khas Colliery ...	15th April 1932 ...	1,989	Ditto.
JAMTARA SUBDIVISION.			
Karradab Nodiha Colliery ...	1920 ...	31,331	Mechanical power.
Sultanpur Colliery ...	1895 ...	11,415	Ditto.
Pariarpur Colliery ...	1918 ...	41,154	Ditto.
Barkuri Colliery ...	1st June 1933 ...	2,201	Ditto.
Palasthali Colliery ...	April 1929 ...	1,896	Hand labour.
Jeldanga Khas Colliery ...	19th September 1931	1,998	Ditto.
GODDA DAMIN COAL PITS.			
Harrah I ...	1st October 1917 ...	156	Quarrying pits, hand labour.
Harrah II ...	1st April 1922 ...	88	Ditto.
Jilwari ...	1st October 1917 ...	52	Ditto.

Name of Mines.	Date of opening.	Output in tons in 1935.	Nature of mining power.
Manikbathan	1st October 1917 ... ..	...	Quarrying pits hand labour.
Lalmatia-Kadapahar	1922-23 ... ..	...	Ditto.
Bargo I	1904	238	Ditto.
Bargo II	1907	316	Ditto.
DUMKA DAMIN COAL PITS.			
Ghatchora I	1908	125	Ditto.
Ghatchora II	1921-22	98	Ditto.
Gandhrop	1923-24	4	Ditto.
Demonpur	1908	41	Ditto.
Sarsabad I	1907	4	Ditto.
PAKAUR DAMIN COAL PITS.			
Chilgo	1st June 1934	109	Ditto.

With the exception of the Jainty Central Colliery in Deoghar subdivision and the Karrabad-Nodiah, Sultanpur and Pariarpur collieries in the Jamtara subdivision, the mines are worked only on a small scale. The coalpits in the Damin are not under the provisions of the Mines Act and the coal extracted from them is inferior in quality and is generally fit only for burning bricks and lime. The Kasta coal-fields contain good coal and have risen to importance with the opening of the Kasta Coal-fields Railway in 1922-23.

The wages of labourers in the collieries in the Deoghar and Jamtara subdivisions were as below during the year 1935.—

	Male.		Female.	
	Open ground.	Under ground.	Open ground.	Under ground.
	Rs. s. p.	Rs. s. p.	Rs. s. p.	Rs. s. p.
Deoghar Collieries.	0-3-0	0-3-0 to 0-4-0	0-2-6	0-3-0
Jamtara Collieries.	0-4-0 to 0-7-0	0-5-6 to 0-9-0	0-2-3 to 0-3-0	0-2-6 to 0-3-9

Stone quarries are worked on a considerable scale Quarries. along the Loop Line of the East Indian Railway in the Rajmahal and Pakaur subdivisions, the stone being used for ballast on the railway and for road metalling. The most important quarries in the Rajmahal Damin-i-koh Government Estates are (1) Barharwa Ballast Quarries leased out to the East Indian Railway authorities, (2) Malitope Stone Quarries leased out to the Eastern Bengal Railway authorities, (3) Taljhari Quarries, (4) Maharajpur stone quarries including Sahebganj Block no. I and (5) Bakudih stone quarries. In the Pakaur subdivision 40 stone quarries were at work during the year 1935 all under the Indian Mines Act. Along the Chord Line of the East Indian Railway, there is only one quarry at Badma near Mihijam of which the total output in 1935 was 49,240 tons.

Only one laterite quarry and two soap stone quarries in the Rajmahal subdivision are being worked on a small scale.

China-clay has been worked since 1892 at Mangal Hat : China-clay. it is extracted from the sandstone by a system of crushing, washing and subsequent settling, and is used by the Calcutta Pottery Company for the manufacture of china and porcelain. In an article* by Mr. Satya Sundar Deb, scholar in ceramics in Japan, this clay is described as being in no way inferior to German or Japanese kaolins. There is also a quantity of china clay at Katangi (near Baskia), Karanpur and Dodhani, which is quite white and very free from quartz and other mechanical impurities; it is of a powdery, not very plastic variety and resembles Cornish china-clay in physical properties.† The kaolin deposits in Karanpur has been leased out for the first time with effect from 1st January 1934.

Fire-clay is found on the western side of the Rajmahal Fire-clay. Hills. The clays vary in colour from white to purple and blue, and yield bricks which range from dirty-white, fine-textured ware to yellow bricks almost identical in appearance with the best Stourbridge bricks. From the results of experiments on samples of the clay it is stated that it would answer most if not all of the requirements for which Stourbridge clay is at present used in India. Many of the clays are said

* *Industrial India*, Vol. II, no. 4, p. 95.

† Murray Stuart, *China-clay and Fire-clay Deposits in the Rajmahal Hills*, Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind., Vol. XXXVIII, Part 2, 1909.

Glass
sands.

to be perfectly infusible, and their texture quite as fine and uniform as that of the best Stourbridge clay, and it is believed that they are suitable for such articles as retorts for gas manufacture, as well as for simpler fire-bricks.*

In 1907-08 a special enquiry was made into the suitability of the sands occurring in this district for glass manufacture. The only river sand suitable for the purpose was found to be the Ganges sand, which is plentiful along the banks of that river. Glass made from a sample obtained at Colgong was found to be of a dark-green colour, owing to the iron contained in the sand, and only suitable for the cheapest and darkest kinds of bottles, such as claret and beer bottles. Such a glass could not be used for the manufacture of medicine or soda water bottles. Treatment with manganese showed that hock bottles could be manufactured from this sand, the combined effects of the iron and manganese giving the brownish-red, non-actinic colour common in hock bottles. The sand in other rivers contains much more iron and would yield glass of darker colour and inferior quality, besides which the difficulties of access and transport are great. White Damodar sandstones occur at Mangal Hat and Pirpahar on the east side of the Rajmahal Hills, and in the Hura and Chaparbhitia coal-fields on the north-west. Experiments with the sand at Mangal Hat showed that with proper treatment it would yield excellent plate and window glass, and, with less carefully selected materials, a very good quality of medicine and soda water bottles; it is even possible to manufacture from it a perfectly clear high-class glass suitable for the best cut glass and table glass. There are two objections, however, to this sand: (1) it requires crushing in order to be brought into a condition fit for use, and the crushed product would probably require to be washed to remove the fine dust, a process which leads to the loss of a serious percentage of the material; and (2) it contains kaolin, which it is practically impossible to eliminate completely. The latter drawback will probably prove a serious obstacle to the satisfactory manufacture of glass from this sand.†

The industries of the Santal Parganas are of a primitive character and of little economic importance. They mostly

*Murray Stuart, *China-clay and Fire-clay Deposits in the Rajmahal Hills*, Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind., Vol. XXXVIII, Part 2, 1909.

†Murray Stuart, B. Sc., F. G. S., *Report on the Suitability of the Sands occurring in the Rajmahal Hills for Glass Manufacture*, Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind., Vol. XXXVII, Part 2, pp. 191-198.

MANUFAC-
TURES.

consist of the exploitation of the natural resources of the district, such as the smelting and manufacture of iron, the production of lac and the propagation of tusser cocoons. With these exceptions the industries of the district are practically village handicrafts.

The smelting of iron from native ore has long been carried on by a race called Kols, but the industry is not flourishing owing to the destruction of jungle and the greater facilities for obtaining old scrap-iron at a cheap rate from Deoghar and Rampur Hat. The iron produced is used for the manufacture of mattocks, picks, ploughs, knives, axes, spears, etc., by the village blacksmiths. The following account of the processes employed by the Kols is quoted from Mr. E. R. Watson's *Monograph on Iron and Steel Work in Bengal* (1907):—"I had the opportunity of watching (on the 18th April 1907) the process carried out by the Kols in the jungle at a short distance from Dumka in the Santal Parganas. It scarcely differed from any of the processes which have been in vogue for the whole of the last century in Sambalpur, Orissa, Chota Nagpur and the Rajmahal Hills. The furnace was built on a small hill under the shade of a banyan tree. It was made of clay and carefully dried before use. In form it was almost cylindrical, height 34 inches, outside diameter 26 inches at the bottom, 22 inches at the top, inside diameter at the hearth about a foot, at the top 5 inches. On one side a semi-circular hole, a foot across, was made in the bottom of the wall of the furnace. Into this hole the tuyere was placed resting on a brick, the tuyere consisting of an already baked fire-clay tube 7 inches in length, about 1 inch across at the wider end, and slightly conical. The tuyere was then surrounded by a mass of moist sandy clay, the hole in the wall being entirely filled up with this material. The bellows were then put in place. Each bellows consisted of a short cylindrical piece of wood, 16 inches in diameter and 5 inches high, hollowed out from the top to the form of a pill-box, with a goat-skin tied to the mouth. Into the side of the cylinder was fitted a bamboo tube 3 feet in length and fitted at its further end with a small iron tube as a nozzle. Two such bellows were put in place with the iron nozzles put into the tuyere of the furnace, and the bodies of the bellows close together, so that the bamboo tubes were as near in line as possible with the tuyere.

Iron
smelting.

" In the ground on each side of the furnace a pliant stake 8 or 9 feet in length had been driven. These were now bent over towards the bellows, and to the stake on the left-hand side was fastened a string which was attached to the goat-skin of the left-hand bellows, so that the stake, trying to spring back into place, pulled up the skin on the bellows. The stake on the right-hand side was similarly attached to the right-hand bellows. The skins each had a perforation. Then a man standing on the bellows, with one foot on each, depressed the right-hand stake, and at the same time closed the perforation in the skin of the right-hand bellows with his foot, and by means of his weight drove the air from the bellows into the furnace. He then leant over to the left and repeating the operations on the left-hand bellows sent a blast from the left-hand pipe into the furnace: and thus alternately he threw his weight from the right to the left in a series of operations resembling a man on the tread-mill, and gave a fairly steady blast into the furnace. The skins were from time to time sprinkled with water. The furnace was filled with charcoal (the charcoal used was of *sal* wood, having been burnt in a hemispherical pit in the ground) and lighted, and the blast started. At this time two dabs of vermilion were made on the wall of the furnace just above the hearth, apparently invoking the blessing of the gods on the smelting. Then the charcoal and ore were supplied from the top of the furnace in the proportion of one skip of charcoal to one measure of ore (the measure consisting of a broken water-pot). The blast was steadily maintained, and fresh fuel and ore were added as the previous supply gradually worked down into the furnace.

" The ore employed was a fairly pure hæmatite in small nodules showing a crystalline fracture. These nodules were crushed to a fine powder before use by an old lady belonging to the family of smelters. Carbon monoxide burnt with a blue flame at the mouth of the furnace, and that a white heat was attained within the furnace could be seen by peering down the tuyere. After about half an hour a thin stick was pushed into the moist sandy clay wall surrounding the tuyere, and from the hole thus made a small quantity of slag poured out and solidified. Tappings of slag were made about every half an hour. The slag was almost black and vitreous, and on cooling generally splintered into a thousand pieces. The blast was continued until no more fuel remained; and, in all,

probably 1 maund of charcoal and 20 seers of ore were used. This occupied from three to four hours. The blast was continued some time after all the material had disappeared from the top of the furnace; then the tuyere was removed, the sand, etc., brushed away from the hearth, the charcoal raked out from the furnace and quenched; and ultimately the mass of semi-fused iron was dragged out by thongs with long wooden handles, dragged on to the grass, and very gently hammered to express some of the slag. Care was taken not to hammer out too much of the slag, as the iron is sold by weight. The iron obtained weighed about 6 or 7 seers. The smelters said that this *kutch*a iron sold at 20 to 25 seers for the rupee, so that the product of their labours was valued at 4 annas. They said that on being refined this would yield half its weight of *pucka* iron.

“ With regard to the *rationale* of the smelting operation, from the appearance of the slag one would pronounce it to be chiefly ferrous silicate Fe_2SiO_4 and conclude that part of the ferric oxide, being reduced to ferrous oxide, acts as a base, and combines with and removes the silica present in the ore as impurity. Thus the process is very wasteful and cannot give a good yield, but at the same time by using only the pure wood charcoal and adding no flux the iron produced is almost sure to be of high quality, as there is no risk of introducing the objectionable elements, sulphur and phosphorus, along with fuel or flux. It would, however, be quite worth while to confirm this view of the composition of the slag by chemical analysis, as it appears that no satisfactory analysis has ever been made of the slag from an indigenous smelting furnace in Bengal.”

Lac in this district is generally raised on the *palas* tree (*Butea frondosa*) called in Santali *mur*u, but in the north and east, where *palas* trees are few in number, the *bair* (*Zizyphus Jujuba*) or plum bush (Santali *jamun*) is used for the purpose. There are two crops, the first in Chait and Baisakh, *i.e.*, March to May, and the second in Bhado to Asin, *i.e.*, August to October. These crops go by the name of Kartik (October-November) and Jait (May-June) respectively, those being the months when the crop comes into the local market. The crop of Chait-Baisakh yields the most lac, but the crop of Bhado-Asin contains a greater proportion of colouring matter. The manner of setting the insect for the next crop is simply to save a few well-covered twigs or a branch of the tree when

Lac Manufacture.

cutting the crop, so that the new shoots thrown out after the tree has been pruned down in the removal of the crop may be covered by the insect when it swarms, which for the Jait crop is in Kartik and for the Kartik crop is in Jait. To set the insect in a new grove of trees, a branch of healthy lac containing the larvæ is tied on each tree. After the larvæ have swarmed the branches are cut and the lac sold : this lac goes by the name of *plunki*.

The mode of preparing the crop for the market is primitive in the extreme and must result in considerable loss of material, especially of the colouring matter. When the incrustation has formed on thick wood, it is scraped off with the reaping hook or some other rough instrument; where it has formed on thin wood, the parts wholly covered are left intact; where it is only partially covered, the uncovered portions of wood are roughly cut off so that a large amount of wood or stick is sold with the lac. The growers generally sell the lac to the village *mahajans* or shopkeepers, sometimes taking advances on the crop, and sometimes exchanging the produce for salt, tobacco, etc., and sometimes being paid in cash.*

It is not known when the lac insect (*coccus lacca*), or as the natives call it *Lakorlaka*, was first introduced into this district, but there is a consensus of opinion that the Paharias introduced it, or, at any rate, were the first to cultivate it; and the industry is known to have existed in some parts of the district for a century. The insect is supposed to have been introduced from Manbhum, but this must only be a surmise. Although lac has been produced so long, the development of the industry did not begin till about 1870, when it was stimulated by the increasing demand for lac in the markets of London and America. Previous to 1905, there were no attempts at lac refining, and the crude lac used to be sent to Calcutta, but the sudden rise in the price of refined lac in Calcutta in that year made the traders of Dumka and Pakaur give attention to refining and a number of refineries sprang up in Dumka, Jarmundi and Pakaur. Then came the result of overproduction and half the establishments had to close doors. In 1924-25, the lac business suffered an acute depression and several firms became insolvent. There are at present only a few refineries in Pakaur only carrying on work on a

* C. F. Monson, *Note on the Lac Industry in the Santal Parganas*, Indian Forester, Vol. VII, 1882, pp. 274-79; G. Watt, *Lac and the Lac Industries* Agricultural Ledger, 1901, no. 9.

low scale. At one time lac used to sell at Rs. 80 to Rs. 120 a maund against the present rate of Rs. 8 to Rs. 12 a maund. Damin raiyats residing outside the limits of bazar have to pay nothing for cultivating lac on trees standing on their jamabandi lands, but for cultivating the same on trees standing in Reserved and Protected forests they have to pay cultivating fees as below :—

- /4/- per tree on Kusum tree,
- /2/- „ „ „ plum tree and
- /1/- „ „ „ palas tree.

Damin bazar tenants and outsiders who want to cultivate lac in the Damin have to take out an annual permit on payment of a fee of Rs. 2 for cultivating lac in each Bungalow and if the trees stand in Reserved or Protected forests, they have to pay cultivating fees at the following rates :—

- /8/- per tree on Kusum tree,
- /4/- „ „ „ plum tree and
- /2/- „ „ „ palas tree.

All produce have to be brought to forest hats where royalty is levied at Rs. 2-8-0 per maund. The Forest Department is taking action for establishment of lac cultivation farms in the Pachwara and Hathiabathan reserves in the Pakaur Damin.

The Paharias, Santals and Khatauris rear tusser worms on *asan* trees, four kinds of cocoons (*koa*) being common, viz., Cocoon-rearing. (1) *sarihan*, (2) *langa*, (3) *muga* and (4) *phuka*, of which *muga* is the best. The process of rearing is as follows. The rearers enclose the eggs laid by the tusser moth in a covering of *asan* leaves called *thonga*, which they keep for two days in their houses. When the eggs hatch out into caterpillars the *thongas* are festened to the twigs of *asan* trees, and the caterpillars then spread about the tree forming cocoons. This takes place in the month of Asin, i.e., towards the end of September and beginning of October. Three months later, i.e., in the month of Aghan, when the cocoons are ready, they are taken down from the *asan* trees and dried on the ground for two days. The Patwas or weavers now take the cocoons and boil them in hot water, steeping them for about 8 hours. After this they wash the cocoons in clean water and place them on cow-dung ashes to dry them. They then take each cocoon in the left hand, and with the right hand rub it gently in order to remove the rough coating over the shell

and get out the *khani* or tusser silk. After this is done they begin to spin. Tusser is reared throughout the district, but the most important areas for the tusser are the subdivisions of Pakaur and Rajmahal. Rule for the rearing of tusser is the same as the cultivation of lac. Damin Bazar tenants and outsiders have to take out a permit on payment of a license. Fee payable for rearing silk cocoons on trees standing in Reserved and Protected forests is Rs. 2 per *adda*, per annum. The royalty payable at the forest hats is 8 annas per *kahan*.

Tusser
weaving.

The following is an account of tusser weaving given in the Gazetteer which was published in 1910 taken from N. G. Mukharji's Monograph on the Silk Fabrics of Bengal (1903) :—

“Tusser weaving is carried on by a class of weavers called Patwas, who are said to have migrated from Gaya district and live in the village of Mal Bhagaiya, in the Godda subdivision, just outside the border of Damin-i-koh. The fabrics woven by them consist of *dhotis*, *saris* and *gamchas*, and also long pieces called *than*. Various dyes are used by which the clothes are coloured white, red, purple and yellow, according to the demand.”

No tusser weaving is now carried on in Mal Bhagaiya. But the weavers of Sarouni in the Godda subdivision manufacture tusser cloth. In 1936, they could not fare well on account of the unfavourable condition of the market. Silk and fine cloths are being manufactured in Afzalpur in the Jamtara subdivision, but on a small scale.

Cotton
weaving.

Coarse cotton cloths are woven by village weavers on a fairly large scale, as the aboriginal inhabitants of the district generally use locally made cloth. In 1926-27 a weaving demonstrator was stationed at Dumka and under him the handloom weaving industry flourished in Dumka Damin and Jamtara and under his instructions the weavers of Deoghar learnt the use of improved fly shuttle looms. Improved fly shuttle looms are used by the weavers of Pathargama side in the Godda subdivision. In the Rajmahal subdivision, the weavers of Damin Bungalows Barhait and Boro manufacture bed sheets, towels, *saris*, *dhotis*, etc., by means of improved fly shuttle looms. These indigenous goods are cheap and durable and there is a great demand for these from the local people.

Sabai
grass.

The cultivation of *sabai* grass is an industry of some importance in this district. The following account of the

industry is derived mainly from Mr. D. N. Mukherji's *Monograph on Paper and Papier-Mache in Bengal*.

The hill sides are thoroughly cleared in the dry season by felling and burning, and the seed is scattered broadcast in the rains without any preparatory ploughing or spading. As the jungle comes up again, two weedings are given. In the first year the grass grows to a height of 12 or 18 inches, but this first year's growth is of no value and is not cut. In the second year the fields again receive two weedings, and the grass grows three feet high. It is now used to some extent both for paper and rope-making; but it is still weak, and it is not till in the third year that it attains its maturity, becoming strong and growing six to seven feet high. From now onwards the fields receive only one principal weeding every year in July and August, for nothing ought to remain in the fields but *sabai*, whether trees, scrub jungle or other kinds of grass. Beyond this annual weeding the fields receive no attention.

The grass is cut only once a year at any time from the end of October to the end of January. Every year, after it has been cut, the fields are burnt in the dry season; after this, when the rainy season sets in, the grass shoots up to a height of six or seven feet in about a couple of months. The outturn varies somewhat, but about 25 maunds may be taken as the average per *bigha* or 75 maunds per acre. A *sabai* plantation has a long life, many fields being quite fifty years old; in fact, once established the grass takes such a hold of the land as to defy eradication. The outturn, however, continues to be good for 15 or 16 years only and then gradually falls off. When the yield becomes so small as to be no longer worth troubling about the field is abandoned; and it is only when, in the course of time, want of weeding allows jungle to re-establish itself that the *sabai* dies off and a fresh plantation becomes possible.

Sabai grass which is the mainstay of the Paharias of the Northern hills of Rajmahal and Godda is grown on 12,933 acres of land on the slopes of the hills recorded in the Paharia Settlement of 1915-16 in the names of Paharias as *Sabai Baris* with a rate rent of 1 anna a *bigha*. The origin of the grass is wrapt in some mystery. Probably the grass was indigenous in the hills. It was at first used for rope making when its value as a raw material for paper making was discovered about the year 1884, certain Mahajans

of Sahebganj took up the industry and systematically cultivated the *sabai* grass till the whole of the northern hills of the district became covered with it. Prior to 1909 the exploiting of the crops was uncontrolled. The local Mahajans had unrestricted access to the *sabe* hills. They held long leases from the Paharias and spent money on weeding and improving the crop which in 1907 reached its highest outturn of 4,50,000 maunds. But the Mahajans held the Paharias entirely in their grip. The Paharias became so indebted to them that they were practically their bond slaves and received a bare subsistence. The conditions became so bad that in 1909, Government stepped in to save the Paharias, turned out the Mahajans and ran the *sabe* cultivation under Government control. They sold the crop for the Paharias to the paper mills and advanced money to the Paharias for weeding. The experiment failed. Government lost money. The Paharias were too lazy and incompetent either to weed the crop themselves or to control the coolies employed for the purpose, and the Government management was abandoned after three years' trial. At the end of this period the outturn had dropped to 3,80,000 maunds owing to inefficient weeding.

Government decided that this system must be abandoned and in 1913 they readmitted the Mahajans under restrictions. Only approved Mahajans were allowed to contract with the Paharias : leases were limited to one year to prevent Mahajans getting a fresh grip of the Paharias and the price to be paid to the Paharias was fixed by Government and paid through Government officers. Subject to these restrictions the Mahajans were themselves to cultivate, weed, cut and remove the crop which the Paharias were found incapable of tending properly. This system continued till 1919. The *sabe* crop steadily deteriorated, and it was inevitable that it must do so. For the Mahajans who previously could afford to spend money on weeding as they had long leases and a firm hold on the Paharias could now only get yearly leases and had no security of tenure. Weeding was neglected and the outturn fell to 3,05,000 maunds in the first year, 2,62,000 in 1917-18 and 2,17,000 in 1918-19. The quality deteriorated at the same time and the large quantity of impurities in the grass was a source of constant complaints by the Mills. The supply of grass to the paper industry and the future *sabe* cultivation was in danger.

In 1919, it became clear that something must be done to stop the rot. The Titagarh Mills and their contractor

Sheodayal Ramjidas again urged that the hills should be leased to them direct on a long term of lease, but the Paharias backed by the Mahajans refused to deal direct either with the Mills or Messrs. Sheodayal Ramjidas, as they had done on every previous occasion when this proposal was made. They had inveterate distrust of this contractor owing to his tyrannous method. A modification of the previous system was then sanctioned. The local Mahajans were to receive five-year leases from the Paharias at a fixed rent calculated on the average outturn during the period of Government control, and with a stipulation that they should improve the outturn to 4,50,000 maunds. If they fulfilled that condition they were to have the option of renewal for another five years. This scheme proved a failure. The real cause was the monopoly which the contractor Ramjidas had created for himself. He secured a contract with the Mills by which they were bound up to 1930 to buy *sabai* from none else. In 1924, Mr. Russell (Deputy Commissioner) submitted certain proposals, which, as modified after a conference held by the Commissioner (Mr. Foley) on the 20th February 1924 at Sahibagnj, were in their main features as follows:—

(i) The Mahajans approved by the Deputy Commissioner were to contract to take the Paharias' crops at a fixed rent calculated to represent $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas a maund on a total outturn of 2,95,000 maunds and to deliver at least 90 per cent of the total crop to Ramjidas at a price of 12 annas a maund at Mirzachowki and 13 annas a maund at Sahibganj.

(ii) The Mahajans were to do the weeding and (if necessary) new plantation of *sabai*: should the total outturn improve, they were to give the Paharias a 5 per cent increase on the fixed rent for every 15,000 maunds above 3,00,000 maunds; and (iii) If the Mahajans failed to weed the fields properly and to increase the outturn, their contract might be cancelled. These terms were accepted by Ramjidas and the Mahajans and were approved by Government. This arrangement gave Ramjidas a clear profit of 8 annas a maund while reducing the profit to the Mahajans to a point where they could not afford properly to weed and to restock the *sabai baris*, the produce of which had steadily dropped to a little more than 1 lakh of maunds in 1929-30.

In 1930, Mr. E. S. Hoernle who was Deputy Commissioner at the time examined the whole question and

recommended that with effect from 15th April 1930, the contract system should be abolished and that the Paharias should be permitted to make their own contracts for the sale of their *sabai* without interference from Government subject to the safeguards provided in the Records-of-rights and in the schedule attached to the Record-of-rights. That is to say, the Paharias might sell their *sabai* either by contract or at authorised toll stations; they might sell at toll stations only to persons licensed to purchase; and if they sold by contract, all persons entering the hills to cultivate, cut or extract *sabai* under a contract with the Paharias must hold a permit from the Deputy Commissioner. This was approved in Government Revenue Department letter no. 20-R.R., dated the 13th April 1930, subject to two further safeguards, viz., (1) that the contracts entered into by the Paharias should be executed in the presence of the Subdivisional Officer and (2) that when a contract had been made whereby a licensed purchaser undertook to buy the whole of a crop or any stipulated quantity, the payment or payments should be made in the presence of the Subdivisional Officer or an officer deputed by him.

It was hoped that free competition might raise the price of the commodity and stimulate trade with the direct result of inducing the Paharias to weed and restock their deteriorated *sabai baris*. The first year's working, however, falsified these hopes, the main reason being that the mills made a further contract for the year 1930-31 with Ramjidas continuing the old agreement whereby they were bound to take *sabai* from him alone. Then Mr. Hoernle after prolonged and careful negotiations and interviews with the Mahajans, the Paharias and the Mills outlined the following scheme :—

(1) The Mills will pay for Sahibganj *sabai* grass Rs. 1-6-0 per maund of which Re. 1 will be paid to the Mahajans and 6 annas will be funded for the renovation of the *baris*. The sum so derived will be paid out in advances to the Mahajans at the proper season for weeding and restocking. The work will, however, be supervised by the ordinary subdivisional staff including the Kanungo and the Forest officials who work under the Subdivisional Officer.

(2) The Paharias will receive from the Mahajans Re. 0-3-3 per 50 seers. The Paharia can, however, add to this price Re. 0-6-3 if he does the cutting and carting of the crop: that is the allowance which is made if the Mahajans do the harvesting and transport.

(3) The Mahajans' Sale Union will be in direct communication with the Subdivisional Officer who will have full control over the proceedings and can utilize the existing powers under the record-of-rights and rules relating to the sale of *sabai* to prevent interference with the scheme. That is to say, he can refuse license for purchase and permits for the *sabai* trade to persons who standing outside the Sale Union, have any interest to prevent the success of the scheme.

(4) All weighments of *sabai* and payments to Paharias will be made in the presence of the Subdivisional Officer or responsible officials deputed by him, while all contracts between the Paharias and Mahajans will be executed in his presence and on the terms approved in general by the Deputy Commissioner and in detail by the Subdivisional Officer.

The scheme was sanctioned in Government Revenue Department letter no. 11717, dated the 23rd November 1931, only for one year as an experimental measure. The extension of the period up to the end of the year 1937-38 was also sanctioned in Government Revenue Department letter no. 105-R., dated the 20th April 1934. The opening of a personal ledger account for the Rajmahal Sabai Bari Renovation Fund in the Rajmahal Sub-Treasury was sanctioned in Government Finance Department letter no. 988-F.R., dated the 17th June 1932 and rules for the administration of Sabai Bari Renovation Fund and the form of cheque to be used in withdrawing money from the fund were approved in Government Revenue Department letter no. 124—IG-3-R., dated the 7th January 1933. The cheque form was also standardised as form no. 93M in schedule XII—Saleable forms. The scheme has been working satisfactorily and 2,21,807 maunds of *sabai* was despatched to the Titagarh Paper Mills in 1935-36 against 61,916 maunds in 1931-32. The mills have, however, reduced the price from Rs. 1-6-0 to Rs. 1-5-0 per maund with effect from 1936-37.

Muchis and Chamars carry on a fairly extensive industry in tanning leather and making shoes, while Doms, Haris and Santals cure skins for exportation. Mahulis make baskets, bamboo mats and *chiks* or screens. They also make chairs and small tables. Kumhars make all sorts of earthen pots required for every-day household use, viz., cooking pots, pitchers, bowls and tumblers. They also make tiles, *soorahis*, flower pots, idols and toys. *Baids* or measuring cups of a pretty though stereotyped pattern are made on a limited

Other Industries.

scale by Thatheris and Jadupatias of Paharpur, Afzalnagore and its vicinity in the Jamtara subdivision and at Jabardaha in the Dumka subdivision. The manufacture of *ghi*, oil (*mahua*, *surguja* and mustard) and *gur* or coarse sugar is carried on as a domestic industry. Village carpenters are numerous and wood carving is carried on to a small extent, the carved wooden combs exhibited and sold in fairs showing some skill. The carpenters of Dumka and Rasikpur excel not only in wood carving used for the frontage of houses and for their interior decoration, but also in turning out *chairs*, tables, almirahs and other office furniture. Silver and bell-metal ornaments are also made, and lacquered bangles are manufactured at Nunihat and a few other places. Brick-making by European methods is being carried on at Maharajpur for more than 30 years. As regards organised industry, there are four rice mills at Madhupur, one rice mill, two small flour mills and a soap factory at Deoghar, one oil mill at Pakaur and four oil mills and one flour mill at Sahebganj. A match factory was started in Rajmahal in 1922-23 but it was closed in 1925-26.

Trade.

The chief imports are gunny bags, linseed, mustard seed, tobacco, raw cotton, sugar, refined and unrefined molasses, European, Bombay and Japani piece goods, salt, kerosene oil, coal and coke. The chief exports are food-grains, including paddy and maize, *sabai* grass, road metal, hides and raw fibres. The trade in hides is chiefly carried on in the headquarters and Pakaur subdivisions where regular hide godowns are kept by Muhammadan merchants.

Trade centres and Fairs.

The chief centres of trade are Sahebganj, Madhupur, Deoghar and Dumka and the chief traders are mostly Marwaris. The greater portion of the local trade, however, is carried on at various markets (*hats*) usually held twice a week and in some case once a week in the interior. At these markets, villagers dispose of their surplus stores of rice, grain, vegetables and other local produce and make purchases of cotton or piece goods, spices, sweetmeats, tobacco, kerosene oil, salt, metal utensils and the like. The *hat* consists usually of a group of rickety stalls huddled together in a convenient mango tope, for the use of which the stall-keepers and vendors pay fees in cash or kind to the owner or his lessee. In the Damin-i-koh no such fees are levied, but royalty is realised on forest produce only.

A considerable amount of trade is carried on at the fairs held from time to time in different parts of the district. The principal fairs are shown below :—

Subdivision.	Name of Fair.	Time at which held.	Duration (days).	Attendance in 1935-36.
Dumka ...	Raniswar Mela ...	Last day of Chait ..	8	15,000
	Nunbil ...	Last day of Pous ...	8	10,000
	Mahisbathan Mela (started in 1935-36).	In January ...	8	10,000
	Baskinath ...	Sibratry in Falgun	3	10,000
	Dumka or Hijla Mela	February ...	7	5,000
Deoghar ...	Bhadho Purnima, Deoghar.	September ...	4	8,000
	Sri Panchami, Deoghar.	February ..	4	3,000
	Sivaratri, Deoghar...	March ...	5	5,000
	Burhai-Swori ...	December ...	2	8,000
Godda ...	Basantrai ...	Chait Sankranti ...	15	10,000 to 12,000
	Dhamsai ...	Sivaratri in February	7	2,000 to 10,000
	Chapri ...	Ditto ...	3	2,000
Jamtara ...	Jamtara ...	Basjatra (November)	10	8,000 to 10,000
	Karamdaha ...	Last day of Pous ...	10	8,000
Pakaur ...	Pakaur ...	Bathjatra (June or July).	1	About 2,000
	Pakaur ...	Kalipuja (October or November).	1	About 3,000
Rajmahal...	Gajeswar Meha in village Kherwa. Bungalow Barhait.	Sivaratri in Falgun	4	3,000
	Matijharna Bungalow Maharajpur.	Ditto ...	4	3,000

In 1856, Mr. Steinforth, the then Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division directed that the seer throughout the Santal Parganas should be the uniform weight of 80 tolas. This order was not enforced. In 1864, the Commissioner thought it inexpedient to introduce any exceptional rule outside the Damini on the understanding that the weights and measures there were generally the same as in the districts to which

these tracts originally belonged. But as regards the Damin, the Commissioner thought it practicable and desirable that there should be an uniformity in weights and measures and directed as below :—

“ From the 1st July next, the seer of 80 tolas will be the only lawful and recognised weight in the Damin. Anyone using seers of any other weight will be liable to punishment. From the same date, the pie measure will be a measure containing half a seer (neither more nor less) of Arwa rice, one year old. Persons using a pie measure of any capacity but this will be liable to punishment.”

This was approved in Bengal Government letter no. 86, dated the 4th January 1867.

CHAPTER XI.

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

The district is traversed on the north-east by the Loop Line and on the south-west by the Chord Line, of the East Indian Railway, the former being opened to traffic in 1851 and the latter in 1871. A short branch (8 miles long) connects Rajmahal (the subdivisional headquarters) with Tinpahar on the Loop Line; another branch also managed by the East Indian Railway runs from Madhupur on the Chord Line to Giridih a distance of 24 miles and there is a small branch line of the East Indian Railway from Jassidih Junction to Deoghar. From Sahibganj a short line runs to Sakrigali Ghat (*via* Sakrigali Junction) between which and Monihari Ghat on the other bank of the Ganges, Ferry Steamers ply establishing connection with Bengal and North-Western Railway Barharwa on the Loop Line (at 185 miles from Howrah, *via* Ajimgunj, Katwa and Bandel by the Barharwa Bandel Loop Line of the East Indian Railway. The distance of Barharwa from Howrah by this route is 191 miles.

The marginal table shows the stations on the Chord and Loop Lines in this district and the distance from Howrah.

The Loop Line enters the district at Rajgaon and leaves

<i>Loop Line.</i>	<i>Miles.</i>	<i>Chord Line.</i>	<i>Miles.</i>	it at Mirza-chowki a distance of 65 miles. Through-out its length, it passes along the skirts of the hills the line being laid in a narrow strip of country hemmed in on one side by the Rajmahal hills and on the other side by the
Rajgaon	162	Mihijam	148	
Pakur	169	Jamtara	157	
Kotalpukur	176	Karmatanr	168	
Burharwa	185	Modhupur Junction	183	
Bakudih	190	Jassidih Junction ...	201	
Tinpahar Junction ...	195			
Taljhari	201	<i>Burharwa Bandel Loop Line.</i>		
Moharajpur	210	Burharwa	191	
Sakrigali Junction ...	214			
Sahibganj Junction	219			
Mirzachouki	228			

Ganges. The most noticeable engineering work of this portion of the line is the Sitapahar cutting (near Bakudih

Railway station) a little beyond Burharwa which was a work of great difficulty, a bed of solid basalt having to be cut away and blasted.

The Chord Line enters the district at Mihijam, crosses the tableland of the Jamtara and Deoghar subdivisions at an altitude of nearly 1,000 feet and running parallel to the western boundary of the Santal Parganas at an interval of 10 to 15 miles, leaves it a few miles north-west of the Jassidih Junction.

There is a branch line of the East Indian Railway connecting Bhagalpur with Manderhill (Bansi) a distance of 32 miles. This Railway Station is the nearest connection from Godda, the subdivisional headquarters with the Railway Line. The distance from Godda to Bansi is 15 miles. There was a project for connecting Bansi with Sainthia on the Loop Line *via* Dumka, but it was abandoned in 1929.

Besides, there is the Kasta coal-fields railway which connects the coal area in the south of the Jamtara subdivision with the Ondal-Sainthia Railway at Kastagram which is 131 miles from Howrah Station.

Roads.

Until 1901 the roads in the Santhal Parganas were maintained from an annual grant made by Government and administered by the Deputy Commissioner. In that year the Cess Act was introduced in parts of the district, and a District Road Committee was formed. There are now (1936) 120 scheduled roads under the Committee with a total mileage of 1,319 miles, of which 140 miles are metalled, 379 miles are gravelled and 800 miles are kutcha. Of these 1,319 miles of roads, a length of 431 miles (23 miles metalled, 61 miles gravelled and 347 kutcha) is situated in the Damin-i-Koh Government Estate, and a length of 888 miles (117 miles metalled, 318 miles gravelled and 453 miles kutcha) is situated in the non-Damin area. The total area of the district is 5,479 square miles and the Damin Government Estate extends over an area of 1,350 square miles. There are no roads in this district maintained by the Public Works Department.

The soil is hard and even the kutcha roads are passable except during the rains, practically from the middle of November to middle of June, if properly attended to. Cart traffic however is almost suspended during the rains in the alluvial portion of the Godda and Rajmahal subdivisions and in the black soil of Rajmahal and Pakur subdivisions.

The principal roads connecting Dumka with the Railway stations and the subdivisional headquarters are the following :—

1. Dumka-Rampurhat Road :—It is a fully bridged road connecting Dumka with Rampurhat Railway station on the East Indian Railway Loop Line (the subdivisional headquarters of Birbhum district and 135 miles from Howrah), 39 miles in length of which 9 miles are gravelled and 30 miles are metalled. The last six miles of this road although situated in the district of Birbhum (Bengal) are maintained by the District Committee of the Santal Parganas. The total number of bridges and culverts on this road is 98 of which two are girder bridges on masonry piers and abutments, the remaining being masonry arched bridges and culverts. There are 3 inspection bungalows on this road, one at Shikaripara on the 18th mile, one at Haripur on the 29th mile and another at Rampurhat on the 39th mile.

2. Dumka-Bhagalpur Road :—This is a portion of the Bhagalpur-Suri road which enters the district on the 42nd mile (Bhagalpur border) and leaves it at 95th mile (Birbhum border) and is fully bridged. The distance from Bhagalpur border up to Dumka is 29 miles of which 26 miles are metalled and the remaining 3 miles are gravelled. The total number of bridges and culverts on this length of the road is 82, of which 8 are girder bridges on screw and joist pile piers and masonry piers and abutments, on the tributaries of the Mor river. There are two inspection bungalows, one at Nonihat 17 miles from Dumka and the other at Hansdih 25 miles from Dumka.

The Bhagalpur and Manderhill Railway stations are 71 and 40 miles away from Dumka, respectively.

3. Dumka-Suri road :—This is a portion of the Bhagalpur-Suri road and is fully bridged except the Mor river near the boundary of the district of the Santal Parganas and Birbhum. The distance from Dumka to Amjora Ghat (the Mor river ghat) is 23 miles of which 16 miles are metalled and the rest is gravelled. There is a small bit of the road beyond Amjora Ghat about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length up to the boundary of the district which is maintained by the Birbhum district board. The total number of bridges and culverts on this road up to the Amjora Ghat is 75 of which two are girder bridges, over tributaries of the Mor river.

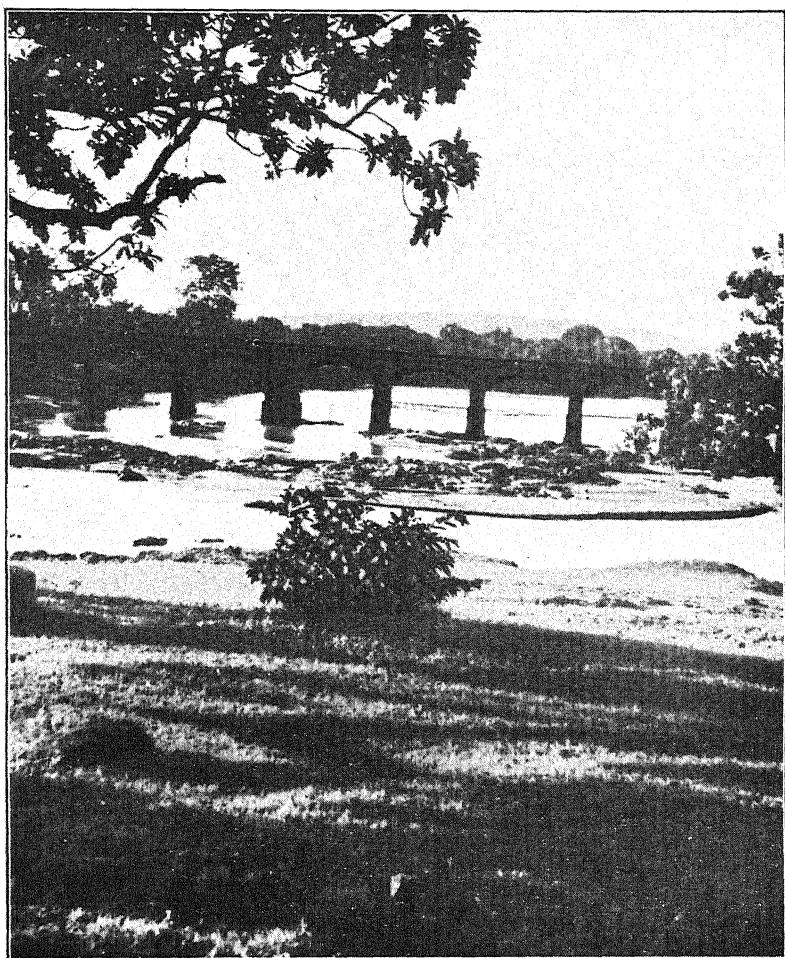
4. Dumka-Deoghar Road :—It is a fully bridged road connecting Dumka with Deoghar (the subdivisional headquarters) Railway station and is 42 miles in length, of which 5 miles are common with Dumka-Bhagalpur road. Out of the remaining 37 miles, 25 miles are metalled and 12 miles are gravelled. The total number of bridges and culverts on this road is 104 of which the McIntosh bridge situated on the 6th mile is a girder bridge on joist pile piers and arc masonry abutment over the river Mor and the remaining masonry bridges and culverts. There are two inspection bungalows on the road, one at Jarmundi 17 miles from Dumka and the other at Ghormara 30 miles from Dumka.

5. Dumka-Pakaur road :—This road passing mainly through the centre of the Damin-i-Koh is a fully bridged road connecting Dumka with Pakaur (the subdivisional headquarters and Railway station) *via* Amrapara, Litipara and Hiranpur. The road from Amrapara to Hiranpur with all bridges and culverts has been constructed between the years 1923 and 1927. The total length of the road is 64 miles of which 15 miles are metalled and the remaining miles are gravelled. The total number of bridges and culverts are 190, of which 76 are girder bridges on masonry piers and abutments. The major arched masonry bridges are over the river Brahmani at Bhurkunda and over the river Bansloi at Amrapara and over Salpatra, Torai, Kirla, Jobo and Kapath streams, between Amrapara and Hiranpur.

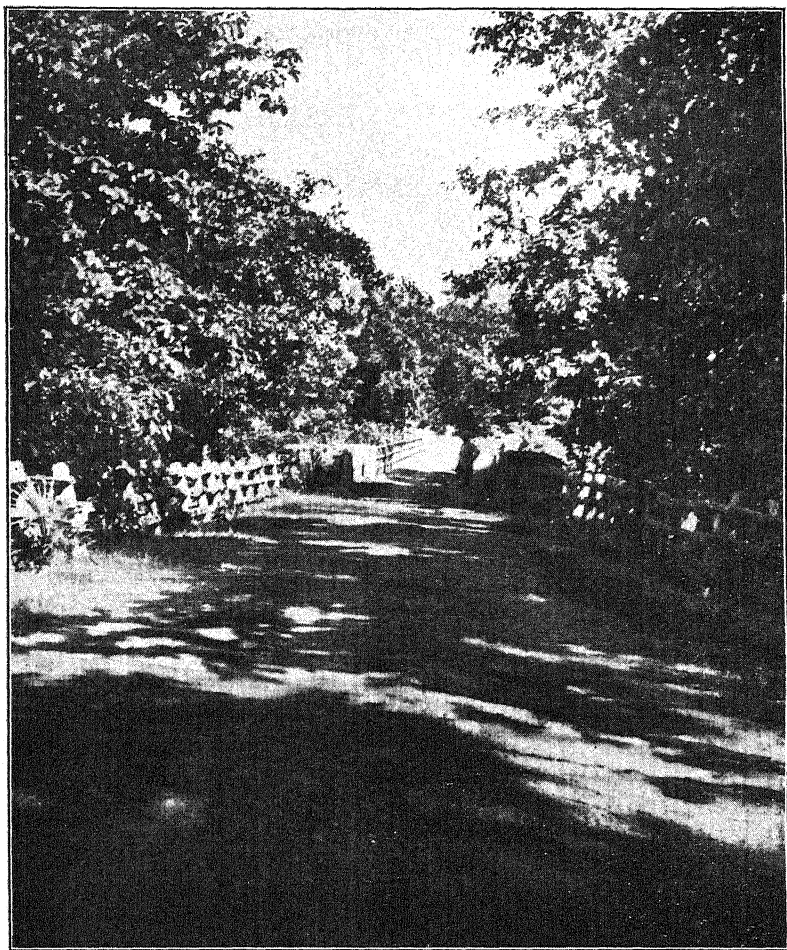
There are 7 Damin Bungalows on this road, *viz*, Katikund on 15th mile, Gopikandar on 22nd mile, Kuschira and Amrapara on 31st mile, Parerkola on 38th mile, Litipara on 46th mile and Hiranpur on the 52nd mile of the road.

There are also two inspection bungalows at Pakaur, one belonging to the District Committee and the other belonging to Public Works Department. The District Committee Bungalow can be used as a Dak Bungalow.

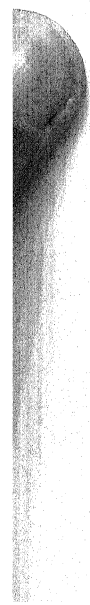
6. Godda-Hansdiha road :—It is a fully bridged road connecting Godda the subdivisional headquarters with Dumka *via* Hansdiha. The total distance from Dumka to Godda is 46 miles and the distance from Hansdiha to Godda is 20 miles, the remaining 26 miles run with Dumka-Bhagalpur road. Out of the total 20 miles of Godda-Hansdiha road $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles are metalled and the rest are gravelled. The total number of bridges and culverts are 27 of which 2 are girder bridges, one at Pareyahat and another at Sugathan with masonry piers



**A view of the fine bridge over river Bansloi at Amrapara
in the Damin.**



A view of the river in the Damin-i-Koh near Katikund.



and abutments and the remaining are masonry bridges and culverts. There is one inspection bungalow at Godda belonging to Public Works Department.

7. Deoghar-Jassidih road :—It is a fully bridged and gravelled road 4 miles in length of which $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles are maintained by the Deoghar Municipality and the remaining $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles by the District Committee. The most important bridge on this road is the girder bridge over the river Dharwa, a tributary of the river Ajay, with joist pile piers and masonry abutments, and there are six minor masonry culverts on the road.

8. Dumka-Madhupur road :—It is 43 miles in length, partly gravelled and partly kutcha, crossing 3 unbridged rivers, *viz.*, the Mor on the 4th mile, the Ajay on the 30th and the Pathro on the 33rd mile. There are two inspection bungalows, one at Chorekatha on the 12th mile and the other at Sareth on the 29th mile. There is also one Public Works Department Inspection Bungalow at Madhupur.

9. Dumka-Jamtara road :—The existing Dumka-Jamtara road *via* Fatehpur is 44 miles in length and is kutcha, intersected by 9 unbridged streams of which the Mor on the 3rd mile and the Ajay on the 41st mile are the most important. A new alignment for this road has now been made running almost along the water-shed line, to avoid the bridging of the large number of streams, on the old route.

10. Deoghar-Chakai road :—This road is 14 miles in length up to the district border of which 3 miles are common with Deoghar-Jassidih road, connecting Giridih with Deoghar *via* Chakai (in Monghyr district). It is partly gravelled and mostly kutcha with 3 unbridged rivers, *viz.*, the Tiljuri, the Punashi and the Patharchapti. There are 2 girder bridges with masonry piers and abutments and 13 minor masonry culverts on this road. The distance from Deoghar to Chakai is 22 miles.

11. Litipara-Sahebganj road :—This road passing through the heart of the Damin-i-Koh is 53 miles in length and passes *via* Dharampur, Burhait, Borio, and Banjhi which are the most important centres in the Damin and where there are Damin bungalows. The road is mostly kutcha and unbridged and impassable for vehicular traffic during the rains. One girder bridge with screw pile piers and abutments was constructed in the year 1925 over the Gumani river near Burhait. The most important unbridged streams on this road are the

Gonrah, the Gardwara, the Derium, the Lahirikundi, the Telo, and the Jarul. There is a project for fully bridging this most important road in the Damin-i-Koh Government Estate. There is one inspection bungalow at Sahebganj which may be used as a Dak Bungalow. There is also a Damin Bungalow at Sakrugarh 1 mile from Sahibganj.

Dumka is accessible by road from Monghyr *via* Bhagalpur or *via* Jamui and Chakai and Deoghar, from Giridih *via* Chakai and Deoghar, and from the Grand Trunk Road *via* Kulti and Jamtara. It is also accessible from the Grand Trunk Road from Panagarh and Raniganj in Burdwan district *via* Suri.

Dak Bungalows and Inspection Bungalows.—There is one Dak Bungalow at Dumka and there are inspection bungalows at Jamtara (belonging to Public Works Department), Deoghar, Rampurhat, Pakaur (one belonging to Public Works Department and the other belonging to District Road Committee), Godda (belonging to Public Works Department), Rajmahal and Sahibganj, which may be used as Dak Bungalows too. Besides these, there are 18 other inspection bungalows and 42 Damin bungalows in this district.

Water
Communi-
cations.

The only navigable waterway is the Ganges, the rivers which traverse the district, being hill streams that rise in flood during the rains and have little or no water for the rest of the year. There is a through steamer service on the Ganges, and also a local service between places on its banks, *viz.*, from Rajmahal to Manihari, from Rajmahal to Manikchak, and in the rains from Rajmahal *via* the river Kalindi to English Bazar, a distance of 80 miles. As stated above, the railway maintains a ferry steamer between Sakrigali Ghat and Manihari Ghat, and it also has a bi-weekly service between Rajmahal and Dhulian.

Convey-
ances.

The characteristic cart of the district is the "Sagar" which is suitable for work on the roughest roads. It consists merely of two solid wheels with bamboos fastened to the axle. They taper to a point at the other extremity, thus forming a triangle on which the goods are placed, and rest upon a cross bar, which passes over the necks of the buffalows or bullocks which draw it. Such carts are capable of struggling over steep hills covered with boulders.

Ordinarily bullock carts with wooden wheels with wooden spokes and rims, generally with flat iron tyres fixed on the rims, are used in this district for conveying goods and passengers,

Motor cars as private conveyances were first introduced into this district about the year 1914 and since then there has been a steady increase of such conveyances.

Motor cars and motor buses as public conveyances have come into existence since 1920 and a number of motor buses regularly ply between Dumka and Bhagalpur, Mandarhill, Godda, Jassidih, Deoghar, Pakaur, Rampurhat and Suri and the motor car and motor bus traffic is steadily increasing.

Petrol is sold at Dumka, Deoghar, Godda, and Pakaur as well as at Jamtara, Madhupur and Sahibganj.

There are 55 post offices in the district and 558 miles of ^{Postal} communication. The average number of unregistered postal articles including letters, post cards, packets, newspapers and parcels, delivered in each month during the year 1935-36 was 43,098 and the number of registered articles delivered during the year was 68,123. The value of money orders issued in the same year was Rs. 22,72,933 and of those paid Rs. 21,45,669. The total number of Savings Bank deposits was Rs. 18,697 against Rs. 3,576 in 1907-08 and the amount deposited was Rs. 10,77,791. There are 14 Postal Telegraph offices situated at Dumka, Barharwa, Bengaria, Deoghar, Godda, Jamtara, Jassidih, Karmatanr, Madhupur, Mahespur, Mihijam, Pakaur, Rajmahal and Sahibganj. The number of messages issued from these offices in 1935-36 was 22,426.

CHAPTER XII.

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.

AGRARIAN
MEASURES.

THE first settlement of the district was carried out under the Santal Parganas Settlement Regulation, III of 1872, which was passed for "the peace and good government" of the Santal Parganas. The Regulation provided that only certain specified laws, or such other laws as might from time to time be specially notified, should apply to the district, and that the Government might order a settlement for the purpose of ascertaining and recording all rights appertaining to land, whether belonging to the zamindars and other proprietors, or to the tenants and headmen. It barred the action of the Civil Courts during the settlement except on special references and in suits valued at more than Rs. 1,000 regarding the rights of zamindars and other proprietors as between themselves; it provided for the reinstatement of headmen and ryots unjustly dispossessed since the 31st December 1858 and for readjusting, at "fair and equitable rates," the rents payable by headmen and ryots; it confirmed to the ryots a right of occupancy after 12 years' possession; and it fixed the rents for at least 7 years until a fresh settlement or agreement was made. The work of effecting a settlement under this Regulation was entrusted to Mr. Browne Wood, then Deputy Commissioner.

An account has already been given in Chapter IX of the rules and principles observed during the operations for the settlement of rent, and it will be sufficient to notice the main features of the work in other directions. In the zamindari estates:—(1) Mere farmers of villages were held to have acquired no right of occupancy in lands cultivated by them during their leases and no title to settlement, whatever might have been the length of their occupation. In Santal villages they had to make way for Santal headmen; but those whose leases had still a term to run were allowed to receive from the headmen for that term the rental fixed by the Settlement Officer on the understanding that they paid to the zamindar the amount due under the terms of their agreement with him. (2) When no rival claimants appeared, the lease was granted to the headman or farmer in possession unless he was disqualified on account of previous mismanagement; but when

there were claimants a careful enquiry was held to determine who had the best right. (3) The Settlement Officer was authorized to use his own discretion in the selection of the headman in Santal villages, provided that due regard was paid to any local customs on the subject. (4) Before a lease was granted its terms were fully explained to all parties. The zamindar and the ryots were specially called upon to submit their objections, if any, and the objections were investigated and settled. (5) Besides classifying and assessing lands the Settlement Officer made enquiries as to the local customs and rights in respect of land and the internal arrangement of the villages, and these were recorded and notified for the information of the zamindar and villagers. The record-of-rights gave fixity to the rights and customs of each village, no amendment of it being permitted except under the hand of the Lieutenant-Governor himself on proof of a material error. A resettlement of the Damin-i-koh was also carried out.

Subsequently doubts began to be entertained whether the Regulation of 1872 authorized settlements to be made from time to time, and it was feared that complications would arise on the expiry of the leases granted by the Settlement Officer. Tenants might be induced or compelled to accept private engagements for higher rates; the rents might gradually become equalized at a higher figure; and this process of enhancement might bring about the unsatisfactory state of feeling which existed before 1872. It was, therefore, considered necessary that Government should keep the process of rent enhancement under its own control. It was also felt that it was necessary to furnish the zamindars with the means of obtaining, at their own expenses, a resettlement of rent. Accordingly the Santal Parganas Rent Regulation, II of 1886, was enacted with four objects:—(1) to make it clear that Government could at any time order a fresh settlement and revision of the records-of-rights; (2) to allow the zamindars reasonable facilities for obtaining, at their own expense, enhancements of rents after the expiry of the period of 7 years, which had been fixed as the term of the settlement by Regulation III of 1872; (3) to permit of rents being determined, on the application of zamindars, in tracts which had not been settled under that Regulation; and (4) to prescribe that rents settled in future under Regulation III of 1872 or the new Regulation should hold good for 15 years or until they should be altered again under either Regulation. Provisions to the above effect were inserted in the Regulation; and another

important clause was that prohibiting the eviction of ryots, whether possessing a right of occupancy or not, without the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner.

Regulation II of 1886 enabled settlements of rents to be made on the application of the landlords or ryots, and provided for the recovery by Government of the expenses incurred by it in connection with such proceedings. It did not, however, admit of the preparation of a record-of-rights at the same time as the settlement of rents, and its provisions could be conveniently applied only when small areas were concerned. On the other hand Regulation III of 1872 provided for the preparation of a record-of-rights, as well as for a determination of rents, and had been found to be more suitable when considerable areas came under settlement. The latter Regulation, however, contained no provisions whereby costs could be recovered from the parties benefited by the proceedings initiated under it. Provisions to remedy these defects were embodied in Regulation II of 1904; and three years later Regulation II of 1886 was further amended by Regulation III of 1907, which provides for the enhancement of rent on account of improvements effected by, or at the expense of, zamindars, and for the acquisition of lands required for the construction of works of improvement, building, etc.

In 1908, Regulation III of 1872 was further amended by Regulation III of 1908, the provisions of which embody several important principles. Chief among these is the principle emphasized by the settlement, and accepted by the ordinary courts of the Santal Parganas in the disposal of agrarian cases, that ryoti land cannot be made the subject of transfer. The rulings of the local Civil Courts established under Act XXXVII of 1855, which like the Settlement Courts are subject to the control of the Commissioner and of Government, have been from time to time referred to Government and been embodied in Government orders, which have upheld the policy of non-alienation and have given the Deputy Commissioner and other local officers, as guardians of the settlement, full power to intervene and set aside whatever is subversive of settlement rights and to enforce the obligations imposed by the record-of-rights. There was, however, always a danger that suits valued at more than Rs. 1,000 might be filed by illicit transferees in the courts established under Act XII of 1887, which are subject to the control of the High Court and that the rulings of the local courts, the orders of Government and the provisions of the settlement records

might not be regarded as binding by those courts. To obviate this danger, Regulation III of 1908 definitely declares the non-transferability of ryoti lands, and affirms the power of the Deputy Commissioner to interfere with illegal alienations and, generally, to enforce the provisions of the settlement records. Other provisions intended to remedy defects in the machinery of Regulation III of 1872 provide for the regulation of the transfer of suits to and from Civil and Settlement Courts, for the speedier disposal of objections to the published records, and for other miscellaneous matters. This regulation also provides for the infliction of penalties on proprietors, headmen or ryots who commit certain specific breaches of the record-of-rights.

The whole of the district was settled for the first time under the provisions of Regulation III of 1872 by Mr. Browne Wood between 1873 and 1879. In 1888 resettlement operations were undertaken at the instance of proprietors entitled under Regulation II of 1886 to have the rents of their ryots revised after an interval of seven years. This settlement, which extended over an area of 1,577 square miles and was brought to a conclusion in 1894, was supervised by Mr. Craven and is therefore known as Craven's settlement. The next resettlement was that carried out by Mr. (now Sir) H. McPherson, I.C.S., who between 1898 and 1905 effected a settlement of 3,483 square miles, viz., 1,082 square miles in the Damin-i-koh and 2,401 square miles in zamindari estates, thus practically completing the second settlement of the district. Mr. H. L. L. Allanson, I.C.S., succeeding Mr. McPherson in 1905, completed Mr. McPherson's settlement during the next 18 months, and in November 1906 started the third settlement of the district, revising the settlement of 1,577 square miles made by Mr. Craven. The third Revision Settlement of the whole district, excluding 212 square miles of the Sauria Paharia hills of Godda and Rajmahal settled by Mr. S. S. Day during the period December 1912 to March 1916 and the Ganges Diara tracts of Rajmahal and including the Paharia villages of Pakaur Damin last settled by Maulavi Ekram Hussain in 1895-96, was undertaken by Mr. A. C. Davies, I.C.S., on the 1st September 1922. He remained Settlement Officer up to 22nd April 1925 and was succeeded by Mr. J. W. Houlton, I.C.S. (from 18th August 1925 to 20th June 1927), Mr. B. G. Blunt, I.C.S. (from 21st June 1927 to 20th March 1930 and 24th October 1930 to 15th February 1932), Mr. P. J. Scotland, I.C.S. (from 16th

February 1932 to 8th July 1934) and Mr. J. F. Gantzer who remained in charge of the operations from 21st March 1930 to 23rd October 1930 and from 9th July 1934 to 18th February 1935 when the operations were closed.

The table below shows the dates on which each tract in the district came under the third Revision Settlement and the dates on which the settlement was concluded :—

Name of sub-division.	Tract settled.	Number and date of notification declaring the tract under settlement.	Number and date of notification declaring the conclusion of the settlement.
Dumka ..	Dumka Damin	1862-S.P./19-R. T., dated the 14th September 1922. Ditto ..	2491-R./S.-67, dated the 16th March 1925. 6577-R./S.-124, dated the 20th May 1925.
	Circles Siltha, Ramgarh, Bhalsumar, Mahubona, Amrapahari, Danre, Dudhua, Bara, Amarpur, Sukjora, Kendua, Kasba, Baskinath, Sugribad and Nonihat.	7260-R./S.-195, dated the 14th August 1926.	3484-R./S.-85, dated the 9th April 1930.
	Circles Dhanghara, Haripur, Benagaria, Banspahari, Rajbandhi, Jagatpur, and Dhanbhasa.	8329-R./S.-195, dated the 27th August 1927.	7447-S./174-R., dated the 18th September 1931. One chit village of circle Sukjora declared out of settlement under notification no. 1188-S.-95-R.R., dated the 4th August 1934.
	Circles Patjore, Sukjora, Amjora, Kumirdaha, Masanjore, Banskuli, Goremala, Sapchala, Lakhanpur, Rangamaslia, Tesaria, Gumro, Singro, Choto, Kumrabad, Phuljhari and Parghadih.	8329-R./S.-195, dated the 27th August 1927.	7447-S./174-R., dated the 28th September 1931.
	Circles Baromesia, Dighi, Gando, Dhaka, Dhunria, Lakrapahari, Guhijhuri, Jartal and Haripur.	7492-R./S.-172, dated the 19th August 1928.	1380-S./27-R., dated the 28th February 1933.
	Circles Beldaha, Jarmundi, Jarmundi Bazar, Sahara Mahara, Kamardiha, Naudiha, Kakni, Jhopa, Sareya and Sareya-bazar.		
Godda ..	Godda, Damin Bungalows, Bokrabandhi I and II, Chandna I and II, Dhamni and Karma-tanr I and II.	2778-R.T./S.-206, dated the 27th October 1923.	1131-R.R./S.-202, dated the 31st August 1926.
	Godda Damin Bungalows, Boarijore, Rajabhita, Simra I and II and Telo.	8740-R.T./S.-232, dated the 12th September 1924.	11839-R./S.-276, dated 22nd December 1927.
	Police-station Pareyahat ..	2778-R.T./S.-206, dated the 27th October 1923.	12159-R./S.-276, dated the 21st December 1926.
	Police-station Godda ..	Ditto ..	Ditto.
	Police-station Mahagama ..	8740-R.T./S.-232, dated the 12th September 1924.	11839-R./S.-276, dated the 22nd December 1927.
Pakaur ..	Pakaur Damin and villages Kamalghati, Jabordaha and Hiranpur Bazar of police-station Hiranpur Bazar.	1267-R.T./S.-131, dated the 14th September 1925.	288-R.R./S.-144, dated the 20th June 1929.
	Police-stations Pakaur, Maheshpur, Pakuria and Hiranpur Bazar.	7260-R./S.-195, dated the 14th August 1926.	941-R.R./S.-185, dated the 20th September 1930.
	4 Chhit villages of Maheshpur police-station and 4 Chhit villages of Pakaur police-station.	Ditto ..	1188-S./95-R.R., dated the 4th August 1934.

Name of sub-division.	Tract settled.	Number and date of notification declaring the tract under settlement.	Number and date of notification declaring the conclusion of the settlement.
Rajmahal	Damin Bungalows Mandri I and II.	8740-R.T./S.-232, dated the 12th September 1924. Ditto ..	11839-R./S.-276, dated the 22nd December 1927. Ditto.
	Damin Bungalows, Banjhi, Borio, Sakrugarh, Maharajpur, Taljhari, Raksi and Kusma.	1267-R.T./S.-131, dated the 14th September 1925. Ditto ..	288-R.R./S.-144, dated the 20th June 1929. Ditto.
	Damin Bungalows, Barhait, Brindaban, Durgapur, Pathna, and Ranga.	8740-R.T./S.-232, dated the 13th September 1924.	3208-R./S.-34, dated the 3rd April 1928.
	Police-station Berharwa ..	1646-R./S.-72, dated the 13th February 1926. 7492-R./S.-172, dated the 19th August 1923.	Ditto.
	Police-station Rajmahal ..	Ditto ..	Ditto.
Deoghar ..	Villages Samdanalla, Sakri-bazar, Rampur, Satuaghori and Gopalpur.	8740-R.T./S.-232, dated the 13th September 1924.	3208-R./S.-34, dated the 3rd April 1928.
	Villages Bhowani Chowki and Protapanj of tauzi no. 117.	1646-R./S.-72, dated the 13th February 1926. 7492-R./S.-172, dated the 19th August 1923.	Ditto.
	Police-stations Deoghar and Sarwan.	1380-S./27-R., dated the 18th February 1933, 9091-S./110/33-R., dated the 23rd August 1933, 13763-S./140-R., dated the 7th December 1933, 3067-S./55-34-R., dated the 14th April 1934, 1189-S.-95-R.R., dated the 4th August 1934, 11785-S.-140/34-R., dated the 16th November 1934.	1380-S./27-R., dated the 18th February 1933, 9091-S./110/33-R., dated the 23rd August 1933, 13763-S./140-R., dated the 7th December 1933, 3067-S./55-34-R., dated the 14th April 1934, 1189-S.-95-R.R., dated the 4th August 1934, 11785-S.-140/34-R., dated the 16th November 1934.
Jamtara ..	Police-stations Sarath and Madhupur.	847-R.R./S.-177, dated the 10th August 1929.	9090-S./110/33-R., dated the 23rd August 1933, 13761-S./140-R., dated the 7th December 1933, 3068-S./55-34-R., dated the 14th April 1934, 1190-S./95-R.R., dated the 4th August 1934, 8-S./140-R., dated the 2nd January 1935, 1726-S./43-R., dated the 26th February 1935, 11786-S./140-34-R., dated the 16th November 1934, 594-S./98-R.R., dated the 19th July 1935.
	Circles Ghati, Morrow and Pindari.	847-R.R./S.-147, dated the 10th August 1929.	9090-S./110-33, dated the 23rd August 1933, 3068-S.55/34-R., dated the 14th April 1934, 1190-S./95-R.R., dated the 4th August 1934, 11786-S./140-34-R., dated the 16th November 1934, 594-S./98-R.R. dated the 19th July 1935.
	Circles Afzalpur, Amba, Asna, Bagdohori, Bharchandi, Dakhinbahal, Dhabna, Dhadkia, Dhasunia, Gaichhand, Geria, Jamtara, Kalajharia, Kareya, Kasta, Khajuri, Kundahit, Kuldangal, Lodhna, Mihijam, Narayanpur, Pabia, Siarkatia and Tilaki.	7793-R./S.-155, dated the 9th August 1930 as amended by no. 950-S./155-R.R., dated the 22nd September 1930.	10162-S./140-R., dated the 1st November 1933, 13762-S./140-R., dated the 7th December 1933, 3069-S./55-34-R., dated the 14th April 1934, 1191-S./95-R.R., dated the 4th August 1934, 4-S./140-R., dated the 2nd January 1935, 2398-S./56-R., dated the 16th March 1935, 595-S./98-R.R., dated the 19th July 1935.

Paharia
settle-
ment.

In 1823 the Government defined its relations to the Paharias as follows :—" Government can have no desire to interfere with the existing possessions of the hill people in the mountains, or to assert any right incompatible with their free enjoyment of all which their labour can obtain from that sterile soil." The effect of this declaration of policy was that Government realized no revenue from the Paharias in the hills; and with a few exceptions noted below they have never been assessed to rent. When the first settlement of the district was carried out, the Paharia villages in the hills were excluded from its scope; but in *tappas* Marpal and Daurpal Mr. Browne Wood found the plough cultivation of the Mal Paharias so undistinguishable from that of the Santals, that he included it in his assessment, while he left the hillside *jhum*s unassessed and unrestricted. In 1881 Mr. W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., who was then Deputy Commissioner, after an exhaustive enquiry into the history of the Mal Paharias, showed that they, like their fellow tribesmen outside the Damin-i-koh, had been subject to a zamindari regime until Mr. Ward's demarcation of 1832. The local officers were at the same time unanimous in the opinion that the *jhum* cultivation in Marpal and Daurpal was insignificant and the plough cultivation of the Mal Paharias ample for their wants. It was accordingly decided to stop *jhum* cultivation in those *tappas*. This policy was gradually given effect to, with the result that the Mal Paharias to the south of the Bansloi river are now restricted to plough cultivation. The lands held by Paharias in parts of Ambar, Patsunda and Barkop were also settled in the course of the settlement of the Damin-i-koh in 1867, the Settlement Officer offering the Paharias leases of their lands in exchange for a very low assessment; and the villages held under such leases were duly settled in 1879 in the same way as the lands held by Santals. Besides this some Paharias, who had taken to plough cultivation, having asked for a settlement of the land which they had reclaimed as a protection against the encroachment of Santals, it was settled with them at low rates. In these ways, altogether 305 Paharia villages came under settlement in 1879.

On the conclusion of this settlement Mr. Browne Wood recommended that general settlement operations should be commenced at an early date in the Paharia country for their own protection and on the ground of expediency; and in 1882

Mr. W. B. Oldham, as Deputy Commissioner, drew up an elaborate scheme for a survey and settlement, and for the commutation of the pensions paid to stipendiary chiefs within and without the Damin-i-koh. Government, holding that it was still bound by the promise made in 1823, required that their assent should be gained before a settlement was made. Accordingly the proposal was laid before the Paharia chiefs at an assembly held at Dumka, at which they were informed that Government had no wish to force a settlement upon them in violation of its promise. The Paharias, however, were opposed to a settlement, and Government, finding that the cost of a demarcation survey would be more than a lakh of rupees, negatived the proposal.

Subsequently, in 1895, the headmen of 87 Paharia villages (33 held by Mal Paharias and 54 by the Maler) in the Pakaur Damin applied for a settlement of their villages, realizing that they were worse off than their neighbours in 92 other Paharia villages in the same tract which had been settled by Mr. Browne Wood in 1879. Their request was granted and the settlement carried out in 1895-96, the area dealt with being 43 square miles, of which 8,753 acres were under cultivation. The Paharias having stipulated that lands should be definitely set aside on which they could practise *jhum* or *kurao* cultivation without restriction, 6,589 acres of waste and jungle land were left for the extension of such cultivation, but two conditions were imposed:—(1) that the holder should endeavour to terrace the land during the currency of the settlement, and (2) that he should take precautions when firing his *jhum* to save the Government forest from injury. The north and east slopes of the hills covering an area of 10,597 acres, and clumps of forest outside that area covering 1,191 acres, or 11,788 acres in all, were demarcated as protected forest. Rice lands were assessed at 4 annas per *bigha*, first class *bari* at 3 annas, second class *bari* at 1 anna, and *kurao* land (cultivated and uncultivated) at 2 pice per *bigha*, the total land revenue assessed amounting to Rs. 1,502, which just covered the stipends payable in the tract.

When a resettlement of the Damin-i-Koh was proposed, in 1899, the Local Government was in favour of a survey and demarcation of the boundaries of the Paharia villages, in order to place the Paharias within well-defined limits, and

to secure the proper administration of the protected forests; but it held that in view of the declarations which had at various periods been made by Government, the lands held by Paharias could not be assessed to rent without their consent. Such a demarcation would, it was thought, be of use in dealing with any applications for settlement of their lands made by the Paharias of individual villages. Subsequently, however, in 1901, the Lieutenant-Governor ordered that the work in previously unsettled blocks should be confined to the outer demarcation of those areas, and further stated that it was not the intention of Government to exclude from the enjoyment of the Paharias and to take over, for purposes of forest conservancy, any portion of the unsettled area; nor did Government desire to interfere in any way with the management by the hill people of the waste lands and forests lying outside the boundaries of the settled area, provided the exercise of their rights was confined to their own requirements. Regarding this decision Mr. (now Sir) McPherson writes:—"It has always been a matter of extreme regret to me that Government decided to refrain from *mauzawar* boundary survey. The local officers have to this day no maps which show the relative position of hundreds of hill villages for which stipends are drawn by their *manjhis*. The disadvantage is great from many points of view. The absence of maps renders great the difficulties of police, forest and excise administration. The puzzling results of the enumeration of Paharias in the last census are no doubt due largely to the want of maps.

The moral effect on the Paharias could not fail to be mischievous. The more foolish said in the ignorance of their hearts: 'This is our unconquered country, our *bilat*. The Sahibs are afraid of us. They pay us tribute.' "

In 1901-02 and 1902-03, however, 162 Paharia villages came under settlement on the villagers' own application. All Paharia ryots in these villages had their rents settled at half-rates, but in many there were Santal ryots who had been introduced by the Paharia headmen and were allowed to retain their holdings as they had been in possession, with consent, for a long time. In their case rents were settled according to the ordinary rules. The Paharia headmen who applied for settlement did so under no misapprehension and

showed no signs later of having regretted the step taken by them. On the contrary, they were pleased with the leniency of the assessment, with the exemption from rent of *kurao* lands, with the subsequent allotment of areas for the practice of *kurao*, and they expressed the greatest satisfaction when their leases and a copy of the village *jamabandi* were made over to them. They regarded these as a sort of charter of their rights which would protect them from encroachment and dispossession.

This left 701 Sauria Paharia hills scattered over the two subdivisions of Godda and Rajmahal unsettled. Sabai is grown in 167 of these hills. The commercial importance of 'Sabai' in the paper-making industry had some years before 1901 brought the Mahajans of Sahebganj into direct relations with the Paharias. The practice was for a Mahajan to take over the Sabai fields of Paharia by means of a *chutki* bond. In return for advances under the bond the Mahajan arranged for weeding, reaping and carrying away of the Sabai grass. The Paharias were swindled and became the bond slaves of the Mahajans. In 1907, certain Paharia headmen submitted a memorial to His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor and the late Mr. A. W. Stark was placed on special duty to investigate matters. He found after an examination of the Mahajans' accounts that they systematically underestimated the areas and the value of the produce in the *chutki* bonds and that the Paharias far from owing the Mahajans anything had supplied them with Sabai in much larger quantities than was necessary for the liquidation of the Mahajans' advances, and that in reality the Mahajans were the debtors and not the creditors of the Paharias. In 1909, Government stepped in to save the Paharias, turned out the Mahajans and ran the Sabai cultivation under the Government control. They sold the crop for the Paharias to the Paper Mills and advanced money to the Paharias for weeding. The experiment failed and Government lost money. Government management was, therefore, abandoned after 3 years' trial and the Mahajans were readmitted with certain restrictions. The area of the Sabai field of each Paharia being not known, difficulty was experienced in fairly estimating the amount of crop in the annual *chutki* contracts made by the Paharias with local Sabai dealers for its sale and the average outturn of each Paharia during the 3 years under Government control was taken

for the purpose, a mere guess work. Therefore, in 1912 Mr. H. Ll. L. Allanson, I.C.S., who was the Deputy Commissioner at that time submitted proposals for the fourth time for settlement of these hills under Regulation III of 1872 pointing out on amongst other grounds that it was necessary in the interests of the Paharias themselves. This time the proposal met with the approval of Government and the Lieutenant-Governor in Council was pleased to declare that a settlement should be made of the Sauria Paharia hills situated in the Rajmahal and Godda subdivisions (Declaration no. 6389-R., dated the 18th December 1912). Mr. S. S. Day was appointed Settlement Officer and carried on the operation from 1912 to 1916 when the settlement of all the 701 Sauria Paharia hills was concluded. The settlement resulted in a new and practically unexpected revenue to Government of Rs. 6,624-1-0. The rates of rent fixed for each class of land were as below :—

Class of land.	Rent fixed per bigha.		
	R.	a.	p.
Dhani	0 2 0
Bari 1st class	0 1 0
Sabai Bari	0 1 0
Second class, bari	0 0 6
Kurao area	0 0 3

The present position of the Paharias is as follows. They have been declared the tenants of Government with the occupancy rights and with no power to dispose of their lands to others or settle tenants on them. The rights and duties of the Sardars, Naibs, Manjhis and the tenants have been fully detailed in the record-of-rights prepared under Regulation III of 1872.

Under the system inaugurated by Mr. Cleveland in 1780, certain Sardars, Naibs, and Manjhis continue at the present day to receive stipends from Government. They are pensioners of Government receiving monthly stipends of Rs. 2 to Rs. 10 which formerly aggregated about Rs. 13,000 per annum in return for which they attend the Magistrate's Court periodically and report crime, birth and deaths. At present there are 18 Sardars, 29 Naibs, and 348 Manjhis in

receipt of stipends from Government as noted below and the total cost is Rs. 11,436 per annum.

	Sardars receiving Rs. 10 a month.	Sardars receiving Rs. 5 a month.	Sardars receiving Rs. 3 a month.	Sardars receiving Rs. 2 a month.
Dumka Damin ...	1	—	2	7
Godda Damin ...	3	—	5	164
Pakaur Damin ...	4	2	4	29
Rajmahal Damin ...	8	—	18	148
	16	2	29	348

As village chiefs they are looked up to by members of their own community. The rules regulating payment of and succession to the pensions of these officials were framed by Mr. Sutherland and sanctioned by the Government of Bengal in 1823. Some of them have fallen into disuse in the course of time, but the following are still observed as applicable to existing conditions in the Damin-i-Koh: "That the Magistrate alone in cases of demise decides on the succession to the police allowances, preference being given (if no special objection exists) to the eldest son or other relative of the deceased in whom, according to the usage, he may continue the situation of *manjhi* of the hill on account of which the allowance may be paid.

That the Magistrate alone be authorised to decide on the propriety of discontinuing the pay to the *manjhi* of one hill and bestowing it on the *manjhi* of another, and generally to dismiss and appoint successors in the room of any *manjhi* guilty of misconduct.

That in case of minority of the proper successor to a deceased *sardar*, *naib*, or inferior *manjhi* (where the Magistrate may not think proper to suspend the particular allowance or disburse the same on account of another hill) he be authorised to make such arrangements for the provisional receipt of the allowance and care of the minor as he may judge proper.

That for the purpose of identifying the persons entitled to the police allowance an accurate list be regularly kept, and

corrected by a native officer on the Magistrate's establishment, to be specially entrusted with this duty, the same to exhibit the following particulars:—

1st—The hills for which the allowance is paid arranged numerically under the heads of the different divisions in which included.

2nd—The number of inhabited houses on such hills.

3rd—The names of the *manjhis* receiving the allowances, with the specification of the name of their fathers, and their age.

4th—The date of appointment.

That the Magistrate, after deciding on the succession, shall be careful at the first distribution to cause the identity of the person newly-appointed to be certified by some of the neighbouring *manjhis*, whose names should be recorded.

That three distributions of the allowances to the different *manjhis* be made by the Magistrate in the course of the year, the same to commence on the 1st day of February, June and October."

The powers delegated under the above rules to Magistrates are in practice exercised by the Deputy Commissioner of the Sonthal Parganas.

Where a vacancy occurs in the post of stipendiary *sardar*, *naib*, or *manjhi*, the stipend is resumed if upon enquiry it is found that the number of houses of which the appointment involves charge is less than four.

There are, according to the returns for 1935-36, 468 estates on the revenue-roll of the district, of which 449 are permanently-settled, two are temporarily leased out and 17 are held direct by Government. Of the Government estates by far the most important is the Damin-i-koh, which extends over 1,338 square miles. In this estate the rents are collected from the ryots by village headmen, who have certain special privileges. In the zamindari estates the majority of the villages are *pradhani*, i.e., the ryots are represented by a village headman in all dealings with the proprietor. *Khas* zamindari villages, i.e., villages in which the zamindar deals with the ryots direct and individually are mostly found in the area adjoining the districts of Birbhum, Malda and Murshidabad, i.e., in *pargana* Muhammadabad in the Dumka subdivision, and in *parganas* Sultanabad and Ambar in the Pakaur subdivision, which are mostly inhabited by Bengalis, and in the Rajmahal subdivision outside the Damin-i-koh.

Such villages are held *khas* either because they have for many generations been so held or temporarily because a suitable headman is not available.

Both in *pradhani* and *khas* villages there is a *jamabandi* roll, which includes all the agricultural lands in which the village community has a reversionary interest, *i.e.*, settlement of lands in the village cannot be made with persons who do not belong to the village community, unless the existing ryots waive their claim to it or refuse to exercise their right to settlement. In a few villages, however, there are agricultural lands which formerly belonged to ryots, but have come into the hands of proprietors, which are known as *bakasht malik*. These lands are included in the village *jamabandi* and must either be cultivated by the proprietor himself or be settled with village ryots. In the latter case the lands lose their *bakasht malik* status and become part of the ryot's holding. In addition to ordinary ryoti lands, the headman's private *jote* and official holdings are included in the *jamabandi* and also lands held by (1) Chaukidari or Goraiti Jagirdar ryots, (2) Chakran ryots, (3) ryots on fixed rent (Mokrari), (4) Shibottar ryots, (5) Brahmottar ryots, (6) other rent-free ryots and (7) new ryots, *i.e.*, ryots given the status of a *naya* ryot. Excluded from the village *jamabandi* are *khas kamat* lands, *i.e.*, privileged lands in the direct possession of the proprietors, and shops and houses occupied by non-agriculturists, which are known as *basauri* holdings.

Prominent among the tenures more or less peculiar to this district are the *ghatwali* tenures of *tappa* Sarath Deoghar, which cover almost the whole Deoghar subdivision, and are also found in Jamtara and Dumka. The *ghatwalis* appear to have been originally tenures granted for the protection of the *ghats* or passes through the hills, and the *ghatwals* were small hill chiefs, who raised small levies for their defence and were responsible for peace and order in the tracts held by them. *Tappa* Sarath Deoghar was annexed about 1700 by the Muhammadan *Rajas* of Nagar in Birbhum, but the latter were unable to subdue the hill chiefs altogether and came to an arrangement by which half the *ghatwali* lands were held by the latter as *jagir* and one-half was liable to assessment. Towards the end of the 18th century the power of the *Rajas* of Nagar declined still further, and, after the establishment

of British rule, the Raja was unable to exercise any control over the *ghatwals*. Accordingly, in 1790, the Governor-General in Council allowed him an abatement of his revenue equal to the total amount which might be engaged for by the *ghatwals*, while the Collector of Birbhum was directed to make engagements with them. At the same time it was ordered that the lands held by the *ghatwals* should be excluded from the management of the *Raja* and should be managed by the Collector, though the Governor-General (Sir John Shore) declared that the *ghatwals* were not entitled to separation or to enter into engagements as proprietors.

The *ghatwali mahals* having passed under the Collector's management, the latter concluded settlements with the *ghatwals*, but the Raja was credited with all net realizations in excess of the revenue. The *ghatwals*, however, fell repeatedly into arrears, and eventually in 1812 the Governor-General ordered a fresh settlement, deputing a special officer, Mr. David Scott, for the purpose. By Regulation XXIX of 1814 this settlement was declared perpetual, and the *ghatwalis* were recognized as permanent tenures at a fixed rent. The tenures were declared part of the zamindari of Birbhum and the rents were to be paid to the Collector, who, after deducting the Government revenue on that part of the estate, was to pay the balance to the zamindar. The new *jama* was fixed at Rs. 20,889, and the *sadar jama* at Rs. 15,172, the difference (Rs. 5,717) being payable by Government to the Birbhum Raja. Tappa Sarath Deoghar was transferred to the Santal Parganas in 1855, and after the readjustment of district boundaries in that year the *ghatwali* revenue payable at Dumka was Rs. 23,494, and the amount payable by Government to the zamindar Rs. 7,310.

The Nagar Rajas have now lost their estates and the surplus profits of Sarath Deoghar are divided among a number of share-holders who have succeeded to their interests. Half the profits goes to the proprietors and half to 61 *haqdars*, i.e., holders of rights to receive a share in the surplus profits, according to a rate per 1,000 of income fixed for each *haqdari* interest. There are altogether 53 *ghatwali* tenures in Sarath Deoghar, the gross rental of which is Rs. 2,50,000, while the revenue they pay to Government is Rs. 16,183-8-6.

The incidents of the *ghatwali* tenures are as follows. The *ghatwal* has an inalienable life interest in his tenure; but no lease granted by a *ghatwal* could bind his successor

until the enactment of Act V of 1859, by which leases can, with the sanction of the Commissioner of the Division, be granted for building and mining purposes. A *ghatwali* is hereditary, but, to complete his title, the heir has to appear before the Deputy Commissioner and execute a *Kabulyat* and a *Muchlika* undertaking a variety of duties connected directly or indirectly with the maintenance of peace within the *ghatwali*. As a *ghatwali* is inalienable it cannot be sold by the Civil Courts, but the surplus proceeds, after providing for the due performance of police duties, can be attached by a decree-holder. If a *ghatwal* refuses to reside on his estate or defaults in the performance of other duties, the *ghatwali* may be attached and managed on behalf of the *ghatwal* by order of the Commissioner. The police duties of the *ghatwals* have gradually become less, for, as the country developed, Government found it necessary to make police arrangements of a more elaborate character than could be undertaken by the *ghatwals*. At present the principal police duty required of them is to provide for the pay and equipment of the village watchmen within the limits of their tenures. The power of appointing and dismissing *ghatwals* is vested in the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division. Ordinarily the next heir of a deceased *ghatwal* is appointed to succeed him, provided that he is fit to perform the duties attendant upon the office.

Out of 1,010 square miles covered by the 53 *ghatwalis*, as shown in the table below, all but 25 square miles are in the possession of the families with whom Mr. Scott made his settlement. "They owe their preservation to the custom of primogeniture that applies to them, to the service nature of the tenure which renders it inalienable, and to the provisions of Regulation XXIX of 1814 and Act V of 1859. There can be no doubt that but for these safeguards the major portion of the area would long ago have passed into the hands of usurers and lawyers. As the law stands, *ghatwals* cannot contract debts that are binding on their successors, nor can their estates be sold up in execution of money decrees. A *ghatwal's* succession, moreover, requires the confirmation of Government. The consequence is that their powers of borrowing are extremely limited and that they are compelled to live more or less on current income."*

*H. McPherson, *Santal Parganas Settlement Report*, 1909.

The following table shows the names, area, settled rent, and revenue demand of the largest *ghatwalis* of Tappa Sarath Deoghar.

The land revenue is payable in monthly *kists* and for defaults the *ghatwal* is liable to pay interest at 12 per cent per annum.

<i>Ghatwali mahal</i> no.	Name of <i>Ghatwali mahal</i> .	Area in acres.	Rent.	Land Revenue payable.
			Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1	Sarwan Nisf ...	9,788	7,033 4 0	747 3 2
2	Ditto ..	9,999	6,749 15 0	747 3 2
3	Gajjadh	376	506 0 0	36 4 3
4	Baharudih ...	1,197	408 8 0	13 13 10
5	Peoli ...	27,339	15,833 8 0	1,483 11 9
6	Pathrol ...	79,763	61,388 8 0	2,240 0 0
7	Saldaha ...	23,022	11,767 12 0	491 11 9
8	Tangidih ...	1,322	1,005 4 0	253 9 0
9	Dhanoria ...	4,638	3,243 8 0	107 11 9
10	Banhati ...	10,974	7,107 4 0	605 13 10
11	Bisanpur ...	522	285 12 0	30 14 11
12	Narayanpur ...	20,335	12,138 6 0	266 8 10
13	Manjhtanr ...	2,553	2,052 12 0	309 5 4
14	Burhai ...	47,859	13,921 6 0	410 10 8
15	Ghati with Sikmi <i>Ghatwalis</i> Pindari, Marrow and Am- jora.	60,424	36,810 12 0	534 6 5
16	Deogharabad ...	977	1,762 4 0	322 2 2
17	Dharampur ...	315	301 0 0	13 13 10
18	Parbad ...	742	561 4 0	19 2 9
19	Gumre ...	17,734	10,175 4 0	374 6 5
20	Dumro ...	7,527	2,821 4 0	87 7 6

<i>Ghatwali mahal</i> no. ¹	Name of <i>Ghatwali mahal</i> .	Area in acres.	Rent.	Land Revenue payable.
			Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
21	Lakhoria ...	29,736	17,382 6 0	1,306 10 8
22	Kukraha ...	13,712	8,782 12 0	943 0 0
23	Parua Gurbad ...	2,313	1,120 12 0	51 2 6
24	Kharna ...	470	412 0 0	14 14 10
25	Khairbani ...	118	101 12 0	2 2 2
26	Teur Balia ...	61,640	33,086 0 0	773 5 4
27	Rohini ...	47,546	43,744 6 0	2,368 12 11
28	Tiljuri ...	1,390	1,313 4 0	240 14 11
29	Satar ...	1,502	2,449 12 0	427 11 9
30	Gamardih ...	1,026	1,526 12 0	68 11 11
31	Sarda Kakrah ...	7,265	4,149 12 0	42 9 2
32	Bargunia ...	7,023	4,111 12 0	364 10 8
33	Garsara ...	13,300	10,267 14 0	321 1 1
34	Bagdaha ...	2,102	1,240 0 0	62 14 11
35	Mohampur ...	530	866 0 0	288 0 0
36	Kunjora ...	8,830	4,873 0 0	167 11 9
37	Kajra ...	2,319	1,331 12 0	58 10 8
38	Nuniad ...	23,797	9,225 13 0	214 6 5
39	Bamangama ...	40,754	32,956 0 0	3,479 7 6
40	Sarath ...	2,223	2,342 12 0	298 10 8
41	Gobindpur ...	1,011	406 8 0	14 0 8
42	Simra ...	541	1,121 0 0	273 1 1
43	Garro ...	1,605	457 4 0	16 0 0
44	Jhikti Nisf ...	8,298	5,312 0 0	1,321 14 0
45	Ditto ...	8,298	5,312 12 0	660 15 0
46	Punasi ...	17,608	5,290 0 0	240 0 0

<i>Ghatwali</i> <i>mahal</i> no.	Name of <i>Ghatwali mahal</i> .	Area in acres.	Rent.	Land Revenue payable.
			Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
47	Fulchua ...	9,991	5,561 0 0	214 6 5
48	Khuridumar ...	102	26 12 0	9 9 7
49	Gobindpur ...	1,649	588 12 0	72 8 7
50	Raniganj ...	213	217 12 0	17 1 1
51	Singhpur ...	82	123 4 0	65 1 1
52	Maharajpur ...	1,648	730 8 0	26 10 8
53	Bhero ...	404	351 4 0	30 11 11
	Total ...	...	...	23,493 13 1

*Mul-
raiyati*
tenures.

Another peculiar tenure found in the Deoghar subdivision is the *mulraiyati* tenure, which is an artificial creation of recent time. In 1876-77, in the course of the settlement of that subdivision by Mr. Browne Wood, 80 men, who had been recognized as village headmen, presented a petition to Government, claiming that they were ryots having a right to transfer their holdings, and that the cultivators under them should be recorded as under-ryots or *korfadars* with no right of occupancy. It was finally decided that the memorialists and others in a like position should be styled *mulraiyats*; but the rights of other cultivators were protected by the record-of-rights drawn up by the Settlement Officer. Two criteria were set up for settling claims to the status of a *mulraiyat*, both of which should have been satisfied before a claim was allowed :—

- (1) that the claimant should be descendant of the original founder of the village; and
- (2) that the right of transfer of the *mulraiyati* interest had been exercised and established.

In practice, sometimes one of these tests was applied, sometimes the other, rarely both and the result was that *mulraiyati* status had to be recorded in Sir H. McPherson's Settlement in 540 villages. A *mulraiyat* is a village headman who possesses certain special rights and is subject to certain

special incidents. He may transfer his *mulraiyyati* right as a whole and to a single individual and a *co-mulraiyyat* may similarly transfer only as a whole one to a single individual his specified share in the *mulraiyyati* right including the official holding (if any) corresponding to that share and the private holding, if any. The transferee needs recognition by the Deputy Commissioner. A *mulraiyyat* or his co-sharers may with the sanction of the Subdivisional Officer partition their private holding and on receiving by partition a separate holding, a co-sharer (other than the *mulraiyyat* himself) becomes an ordinary jamabandi ryot. This is equally applicable to partition of a *co-mulraiyyat's* private holding. The official holding cannot be partitioned. A *mulraiyyat* or *co-mulraiyyat* may with the consent of the Subdivisional Officer settle out his private holding as a whole or in part at the rental to ryots. Land so settled becomes ordinary rayati land of the village. When a *mulraiyyat* or *co-mulraiyyat* dies, the nearest male heir is entitled to succeed and if there be no male heir the Deputy Commissioner may permit a female heir to succeed. Only the private holding will pass and it will pass as an undivided whole to those who are heirs and the holding will continue to be private holding appertaining to the *mulraiyyati* right. All succession has to be reported to the Subdivisional Officer and by him to the Deputy Commissioner who has to recognise the succession. The *mulraiyyat* or the whole body of *co-mulraiyyats* acting jointly may with the consent of the Deputy Commissioner surrender the right of transfer, in which case he (or they) becomes ordinary *pradhan* (or *pradhann*). If a *mulraiyyat* dies without heirs or is dismissed for misconduct, there shall thereafter be no *mulraiyyat* of the village. The Deputy Commissioner shall, after consulting the proprietor, either appoint a *pradhan* or declare the village *khas*. If a *co-mulraiyyat* dies without an heir or is dismissed, the Deputy Commissioner may appoint another *co-mulraiyyat* or take such other action for the disposal of the deceased or dismissed *co-mulraiyyat's* rights and the performance of his duties, as he deems best after consulting the proprietor, villagers and other *co-mulraiyyats*. During the revision settlement of 1922—1935, there were only 448 *mulraiyyati* villages against 540 during the settlement of Sir H. McPherson.

A peculiar service tenure also exists in the Jamtara Ghat subdivision and the holders are known as the Ghat Ghat Chaukidari Jagir lands,

Chaukidars. They are holders of jagir lands the grants of which were made to them by the Raja of Nagore (Birbhum) before the Permanent Settlement. Some of these jagirs consist of lands in the Jamtara subdivision and some lands partly in Birbhum and partly in Jamtara and some lands wholly situated in Birbhum. In return for these grants the chaukidars were required to watch the roads leading to the town of Rajnagar, the seat of the former Raja of Birbhum, that is their duties were to guard passes which are now situated in the district of the Santal Parganas. At the Permanent Settlement no assessment of revenue was made on these jagir lands. Under orders contained in Bengal Government letter no. $\frac{P.O.4}{12}$, dated the 22nd August 1889, it is the duty of the Magistrate of Birbhum to look after the lands in his district which are held as service tenures by chaukidars working in the Santal Parganas. In 1895, a Ghat Chaukidari Fund was established in the Jamtara subdivision and the services of the Jamtara Ghat Chaukidars were consummated so that they made cash payments in lieu of giving their services. In 1900 the Government of Bengal in their letter no. 2968-J., dated the 2nd August 1900 directed that the same system of resumption and settlement of Chaukidari Jagirs which was adopted in the district of Birbhum should be extended to these parts of the Santal Parganas where the services of the Ghat Chaukidars were no longer required. Mr. Bompas who was the Deputy Commissioner at the time strongly recommended for these orders in regard to the Jamtara Ghat Chaukidars and in Bengal Government Judicial Department letter no. 1760-J., dated the 14th March 1903, it was directed that the orders of 1900 should be held in abeyance as far as regards the subdivision of Jamtara and that the arrangement under which the Ghat Chaukidars in this subdivision make voluntary payments in lieu of personal service should continue. The rents paid by the Ghat Chaukidars are credited to this Ghat Chaukidari Fund for which a personal ledger account has been opened in the Treasury with the sanction of the Auditor-General and amount at the credit of the Fund is spent on—

- (1) Pay of Sardars, centre muharrirs, and chaukidars appointed as substitutes of the Ghat Chaukidars for rendering police duties.
- (2) Uniforms of Sardars.

- (3) Construction of and repairs to Chaukidari Bungalows and centre houses and any other building necessary for the administration of the Police system in force in the Jamtara subdivision.
- (4) Supply of law books, stationery seals, thumb impression apparatus, hand cuffs, rope and other articles necessary for the conduct of police duties of sardars and chaukidars.

and (5) Rewards to chaukidars and sardars for good work.

The jagirs of the Ghat Chaukidars being pure service tenures are inalienable and impartible. The holder is personally liable for service and although the right of the jagir holder to commute such personal service for a money payment for his own life time is recognised, a service must be rendered for these service lands if Government calls upon the holder of the tenure to render service in lieu of payment of certain sum of money. The holder of the service tenure must then provide some one to render the service required, failing that he loses the tenure.

The extent to which the village headman system obtains in the Santal Parganas may be gathered from the figures shown below :—

Village headman.

NUMBER OF VILLAGES.

Area.	<i>Pradhani.</i>	<i>Mulrai-yati.</i>	<i>Khas.</i>	Total.
Damin-i-koh	... 1,933	...	...	1,933
Zamindari area	... 6,825	488	1,755	9,068
Total	... 8,758	488	1,755	11,001

The position of the village headmen was first definitely defined in the course of Mr. Browne Wood's settlement, which dealt with two main classes, viz., the Santal *manjhi*, or representative of the village community, and the *mustagir*, or lessee, who was often an outside speculator, to whom a zamindar leased a village for a term of years. The principle followed by Mr. Wood in making appointments of headmen in villages was to confirm existing lessees if they were really representative villagers, whose selection as headmen was acceptable alike to the ryots and the zamindars. Long continued possession as a mere farmer was held to confer no

right of occupancy or title to settlement. When an existing lessee refused settlement and no suitable headmen could be found, the village was settled *khas* with the proprietor. The chief prerogatives of the headmen were (1) his commission, levied at the rate of one anna per rupee of rent from the village ryots (in addition to their rent) and of one anna per rupee to be deducted from the rent payable to the landlord; (2) his enjoyment of the official holding called the *manjhi man* (now called *pradhani* or *mustajiri jot*); (3) his right to hold rent-free, during the currency of the settlement, land reclaimed by himself from the waste; and (4) his right to receive rent at half the settlement rates, for the same period, for all land reclaimed by other ryots of the village. In 1891 the principles followed at this settlement in the appointment and dismissal of headmen were embodied in a set of rules issued by the Commissioner, Mr. Quinn, and known as "Quinn's Rules," which prohibited the appointment of non-residents and all subdivision and transfer of the office of headman, and detailed the grounds on which headman might be dismissed. These rules have been followed ever since, and are part and parcel of the agrarian law of the district.

Briefly, the position of the headman (*pradhan*) is as follows. He is appointed by the Deputy Commissioner after consulting the zamindar and ryots, and the man appointed must be acceptable to the latter. The nearest male heir, if fit, has a preferential claim to the appointment: if he is a minor, he may be appointed with a *sarbrahkar* to manage for him till he attains his majority. The headman may be dismissed by the Deputy Commissioner for misconduct, e.g. for dishonesty and for oppressing the ryots. He is entitled to collect from the village ryots commission at the rate of one anna per rupee in excess of the settled rent and to receive from the proprietor at each *kist* commission at the rate of one anna per rupee of village rent collected from the ryots and paid to the proprietor provided he pays on or before the *kist* date the settled rent due for the *kist*. For all payments of rent to the proprietor he gets a rent receipt in form prescribed in Bengal Government notification no. 1339-L.R., dated the 1st March 1904, and at the end of the year an annual quittance receipt in the form prescribed in Government notification no. 5247—S.-90-R., dated the 7th June 1926. If the proprietor without reasonable cause fails to give the headman the annual quittance

receipt, he is liable to prosecution under section 28 of Regulation III of 1872. In the Damin-i-koh the system of commission is different from that obtaining in the zamindari areas for the headman gets no commission from the ryots but he gets commission from Government at the following rates if full payment is made :—

On or before the 15th March ...	8 per cent.
Between 16th and 20th March ...	7½ „
Between 21st and 25th March ...	7 „
Between 26th and 31st March ...	6 „

and the Deputy Commissioner may also in special circumstances grant commission not exceeding 6 per cent if full payment is made after the 31st March.

A village headman may also sue jointly in one suit all or any number of ryots of the village for rent due from them and he may file any such suit without payment of court-fees and in such case the proper court-fees is the first charge on the decree. When the decree is passed the court of its own motion and without any application from the headman starts execution proceedings against the defaulting ryots. The period of limitation of suits by *pradhans* against ryots is 3 years but the limitation of suits for arrears of rent by proprietors against village headman is only one year from the date on which the arrears become due. If the headman defaults in paying the village rent he is liable to dismissal and eviction from the whole or part of his private holding in execution of rent decrees obtained by the proprietor. Dismissal always involves the loss of the official holding which attaches to the post of headman. Eviction is the last resort and is discretionary with the Deputy Commissioner. If no *jamabandi* ryot comes forward to take settlement of the evicted private jote of the *pradhan* on payment of all arrears, usufructuary possession of the evicted jote is given to the proprietor for a definite number of years to clear off his arrears and the village is kept temporarily *khas* till a suitable candidate for headmanship comes forward. All lands which a headman holds or in which he has a share under the same proprietor constitute the private jote which is security for the village rent. His co-sharers are equally liable with himself. The headman has also a right to enjoy rent-free such of the village waste as he reclaims himself and to recover rents at half the settlement rates

for so much of the waste as ryots reclaim. As regards holdings that have become vacant on account of the desertion of ryots or their death without heirs, it is provided that the headman shall settle the entire holding with one or other of the following, giving preference in the order mentioned :—(1) with resident *jamabandi* ryots of the same community; (2) with himself, if resident, or with a resident *jamabandi* ryot of a different community; (3) with himself, if non-resident, or with a non-resident *jamabandi* ryot; and (4) with a non-*jamabandi* ryot. The term *jamabandi* ryot, it may be explained, is held to include the children and heirs of *jamabandi* ryots, and for the purpose of resettlement and reclamation does not include persons who have come into the village solely by purchase; the latter are called *kharida* ryots. In the Damini-koh preference is given to a non-resident *jamabandi* ryot of the same community over a resident *jamabandi* ryot of a different community. A settlement with any person other than a resident *jamabandi* ryot of the same community requires the approval of the Subdivisional Officer.

Other duties incumbent on the headman are to perform certain police functions, the *chaukidars* being subordinate to him, to collect *chaukidari* and other dues, to see that village irrigation works are kept in repair, and to look after village roads, boundary marks, camping and grazing grounds.

Ryoti
rights.

The rent of a village remains unaltered till a fresh rent-roll is prepared under Regulation III of 1872 or Regulation II of 1886. The rent of a ryot's holding is similarly fixed, but a ryot taking up new land is liable to pay rent to the headman for it at half the prevailing rates. Except in a few areas, the interest of an occupancy ryot in his holding is non-transferable. If a holding is abandoned, the village ryots have a preferential claim to settlement; and the district authorities take active steps to evict from the land any person who obtains possession of a ryot's holding to the prejudice of the rights of the villagers. It is provided—(1) that *jamabandi* ryots have a preferential right to settlement of waste land for reclamation but not the right to reclaim without the permission of the headman in some shape or other; (2) that no waste land may be settled with an outsider without the consent of the Subdivisional Officer and proprietor; (3) that no *sal* or reserved trees may be cut down in order to reclaim without the consent of the proprietor; (4) that the ryots, if dissatisfied with the action of the headman in settling waste lands, or

of the proprietor in unreasonably refusing to permit the cutting of *sal* or reserved trees for reclamation, may appeal to the Subdivisional Officer, who has the necessary powers of intervention. Ryots cannot be evicted from their holdings except by order of the Deputy Commissioner under section 25, Regulation II of 1886, which runs :—" A ryot, whether recorded as possessing a right of occupancy or not, shall not be ejected from his holding otherwise than in execution of an order of the Deputy Commissioner." It has been held that a sub-tenant or under-ryot is entitled to the protection of this provision of the law. This ruling has tended to prevent sub-letting, as also has another ruling to the effect that rent cannot be recovered from a sub-tenant at higher than settlement rates. As regards inheritance, the person or persons who have been resident in the village, and have taken their part in the management of the family *jot*, are the only persons entitled to succeed to it as heirs on the death of the head of the family

Ryoti rights are transferable only in a small portion of the district (about 250 square miles) along the borders of Birbhum, Malda and Murshidabad, in the *khas* villages of Ambar, Rajmahal, Muhammadabad and Sultanabad. In this area, which is inhabited mostly by Bengalis, transfers have been so frequent as to constitute a custom or have been recognized by Government and the Settlement Officers. Elsewhere transfer has been prohibited owing to the abuses which it caused. The practice of transfer sprung up soon after the conclusion of Mr. Wood's settlement, which gave the ryots stability of tenure and fixity of rents. The result was that occupancy rights became valuable, and the village usurer was not slow to see that here lay a ready means of circumventing the usury laws. In a very short time court and private sales of ryoti holdings became so numerous as to attract the attention of the local officers and of Government, and within 10 years of the settlement it was estimated that there had been about 10,000 cases of the former and 40,000 of the latter. The evil became so great that first the local courts and then Government found it necessary to declare that all transfers not clearly covered by the settlement record were illegal. The orders of Government to this effect were passed in 1887, and the practice of open transfer was immediately checked; but transfers in a disguised form continued, and for the following ten years the local officers had to be constantly on the watch to check the village lands passing into the hands of persons

Transfer
of ryoti
rights.

whose intrusion within the village community would have been harmful. When Mr. McPherson's settlement took place the orders, which had gradually been embodied in the agrarian case law of the district, were gathered together in the settlement rules and were sanctioned by Government in 1900. Subsequently the prohibition of transfer contained in those rules was embodied in the substantive law of the district by the enactment of Regulation III of 1908, by which a new section (27) to that effect was added to Regulation III of 1872.

In the revision settlement (1922—35) rights of transfer of ryoti holdings have been recorded in—

47	Bengali Khas villages of pargana	Muhammabad.
3	" " " " "	Darimaureswar.
57	Khas villages of pargana	Bahadur-pur.
5	" " " " "	Makrain.
44	" " " " "	Jamni.
8	" " " " "	Akbarnagar.
7	" " " " "	Chitolia.
1	" " " " "	Rukanpur.
9	" " " " "	Enaitnagar.
227	" " " " "	Kankjole.
2	" " " " "	Dashazari.
95	Bengali Khas villages of pargana	Ambar.
92	" " " " "	Sultanabad.

A list of these villages is given below. In pargana Sultanabad, the purchaser must be a cultivating ryot of the pargana. This restriction does not apply to transfers in other parganas :—

Name of pargana.	Name of police-station.	Jurisdiction list number.	Name of villages.
Muhammabad			
(47 villages) ...	Circle Amjora ...	10	Bilkandi.
		12	Silajuri.
		14	Joytara.
		16	Chanlia.
		23	Mehdipur.
		30	Babuganj.
		33	Adekha.
		36	Dumra.
		37	Alakpathar.
		38	Mahulpur.
		39	Champaphuli.
		40	Gobindpur.
		43	Amjora.
		44	Diguli.

Name of pargana.	Name of police-station.	Jurisdiction list number.	Name of villages.
Muhammadabad— <i>concl'd.</i>	Circle Patjore ...	12	Barghata.
		13	Tangdaha.
		15	Kismat Palsa.
		20	Ranabandh.
		26	Pakuria.
		27	Jamgram.
		29	Patjore.
		30	Dhodda.
		31	Nabagram.
		40	Chak Palsa.
		10	
		42	Nandna.
	Circle Banskuli	15	Murguni.
		25	Banskuli.
		26	Kumirkhala.
	Circle Kumirdaha	7	Sadipur.
		9	Tasarkata.
		19	Khuridumar.
		20	Dhadka.
		27	Giripur.
		30	Kumirdaha.
		4	
		35	Hakihatpur.
	Circle Sukjora ...	2	Moheshpur.
		7	Pathra.
		11	Sukjora.
		13	Ranigram.
		15	Chota Kamti.
		16	Pariharpur.
		18	Ektala.
		19	Takipur.
		20	Kulubandi.
		17, 21	Narangi.
		23	Bera Kamti.
		7/28	Amdiha Chak.
Darimaureswar (3 villages) ...	Circle Dhanghara	33	Lakhijol.
		34	Dhirnagar.
		39	Maluti.
Bahadurpur (57 villages) ...	Barharwa ...	2	Malin.
		5	Rasulpur.
		21	Sibpur.
		22	Binapara.
		23	Shampur.
		24	Kusmi Lakhipur.
		41	Purulia Bilan.
		42	Bishunpur.
		43	Purulia Dangal.
		45	Haripur.

Name of pargana.	Name of police-station.	Jurisdiction list number.	Name of villages.
Bahadurpur— <i>concl'd</i> , Rajmahal	...	59	Paharia Bazar.
		72	Kazibagh.
		73	Rasulpur.
		105	Singaria.
		143	Chhota Nimgachhi.
		146	Chandipur.
		147	Muskaipur.
		148	Jonka.
		150	Chhota Bindin.
		151	Ranipur.
		176	Nurai.
		182	Chatra.
		187	Sitarampur.
		188	Kaluapara.
		190	Kamalpur.
		191	Bansbhaia.
		192	Kelabari.
		193	Firozabad.
		194	Jot Chohar.
		198	Bara Sangat.
		201	Birampur.
		202	Manglanundpur.
		203	Ghurucharanpur.
		206	Atapur.
		207	Suratbati.
		208	Srirampur Sahaua.
		210	Gai Gangaprosad.
		212	Kamal Kandi.
		213	Miapur.
		216, 217	Masna Miapur.
		219	Geropokhar.
		221	Lal Chandpur.
		222	Durga Daspur.
		223	Rasulpur.
		225	Kesobati.
		226	Nawapara.
		227	Pharakpur.
		228	Bistupur.
		229	Chandsar.
		230	Jagatbati Chandsar.
		231	Asaritok.
		233	Mansa Chandi (Chhit).
		237	Kathalbari.
		238	Asrito Chota.
		239	Begunganj.
		242	Miruagar.
		229/254	Arazi Shergarh.
Makrain			
(5 villages)	...	Barharwa	...
		177	Dariapur.
		178	Jagarnathpur.
		182	Faridpur.
		183	Garjanpara.
		186	Bishunpur.

Name of pargana.	Name of police-station.	Jurisdiction list number.	Name of villages.
Jamui			
(44 villages) ...	Rajmahal	...	1 Narampur Chachar.
			2 Jamnighat.
			4 Nurpur.
			7 Pachkatia.
			8 Jagi Chak.
			9 Ghat Salempur.
			10 Ghat Shekhachak.
			23 Deorgama.
			37 Kartikdanga.
			43 Kalian Chak.
			51 Sonar Chak.
			52 Kazigaon.
			56 Gidar Mari.
			57 Dumduma.
			107 Marakol.
			108 Nathuchak.
			109 Gadichak.
			110 Enaitpur.
			111 Liladanga.
			112 Sonar Chak Chota.
			116 Pararia.
			120 Ram Chauki.
			121 Chota Chitolia.
			122 Ramangawan.
			123 Bogla Marni.
			124 Haripur.
			125 Jogichak.
			126 Lalbandh.
			127 Nawgai.
			129 Manikpur.
			130 Chota Harchandpur.
			131 Srikundi.
			132 Dharampur.
			133 Nainsukh.
			134 Darlaghat.
			135 Bandiha.
			136 Bara Harchandpur.
			137 Andar Khuta.
			138 Rampur.
			139 Babupur.
			140 Tinpahar.
			218 Masna.
			248 Maheshpur.
			249 Maheshpur Chak.
Akbar Nagar			
(3 villages) ...	Rajmahal	...	12 Motichak.
			24 Sobhanpur.
			39 Mehdipur.
Chitolia			
(7 villages) ...	Rajmahal	...	13 Kanchanpur.
			14 Tulsipati.
			15 Gajo.

SANTAL PARGANAS.

Name of pargana.	Name of police-station.	Jurisdiction list number.	Name of villages.
Chitolia—concl'd.	Rajmahal—concl'd.	16	Beldar Chak.
		17	Batsol.
		18	Lalmatia <i>urf</i> Banwarkol,
		41	Gosaintola.
Rukanpur			
(1 village)	... Rajmahal	... 29	Raibazar.
Enaitnagar			
(9 villages)	... Rajmahal	... 114	Mahadevpur.
		149	Sutiarpara.
		152	Kisun Nawada.
		153	Panchwara.
		282	Khaspara.
		235	Madia-Amanatsarkar,
		236	Sukhpara.
		153	
		252	Amanat Sarkar.
		236	
		253	Amanat Sarkar.
Kankjole			
(227 villages)	... Pakaur	... 56, 57	Bherapokhar.
		61	Bara Dhansaria.
		63	Kitajhor.
		65	Pitambara.
		102	Mathurkali.
		124	Chatarpara.
		125	Jot Gobind.
		143	Sahapur.
		150	Manikpara.
		187	Nabinagar.
Barharwa	...	4	Tetulia.
		6	Ahitikar.
		7	Nagripara.
		8	Satgachhi.
		9	Chapugaon.
		10	Gramsir.
		11	Gora.
		13	Arazi Rampur.
		14	Chandpur.
		15	Ranigram.
		16	Madhoapara.
		18	Chandipur.
		25	Jagannathpur.
		26	Jhiktia.
		27	Ratanpur.
		29	Barharwa.
		31	Haropara.
		32	Tankundi.
		33	Mogalpara.
		34	Mirzapur.

Name of pargana.	Name of police-station.	Jurisdiction list number.	Name of villages.
Kankjole—contd.	Barharwa—contd.	35	Bhimpara.
		36	Batail.
		38	Sabda Chotagargram.
		44	Chandalipara.
		47	Chandi Jhapria.
		48	Sudkhor.
		49	Bhat Pokharia.
		50	Jot Jagat.
		51	Jot Mohesh.
		52	Jot Udhav.
		53	Nizampur.
		54	Maharajpur.
		56	Banidanga.
		57	Pitambarpur.
		58	Jot Mahesh.
		59	Jot Biseswar.
		60	Risor.
		61	Kishnapur.
		62	Outgram.
		65	Maheshghati.
		66	Kankjole.
		67	Mirzapur.
		68	Srikunda.
		69	Sriballavpur.
		70	Harihara.
		71	Srikantapara.
		72	Jamalpur.
		73	Andhar Kotha.
		74	Madhuapara.
		75	Mahadespur.
		76	Agloi.
		77	Chandpur.
		78	Basna.
		79	Naksimal.
		80	Hastipara.
		81	Juhibona.
		82	Nischintapur.
		83	Dhurpal Mahabatpur.
		84	Milik Mahabatpur.
		86	Milik Mahabatpur Jagir.
		87	Ghat Mahabatpur.
		88	Nijgram Mahabatpur.
		89	Nischintpur.
		90	Dompara.
		91	Dompara.
		92	Goalpara.
		93	Goalpara.
		94	Bara Asila (Bara Taraf).
		95	Bara Asila (Chota Taraf).
		96	Chhota Asila (Bara Taraf).
		97	Chhota Asila (Chota Taraf).
		105	Palashbona.

Name of pargana.	Name of police-station.	Jurisdiction list number.	Name of villages.
Kankjole— <i>contd.</i> Barharwa— <i>contd.</i>		106	Kalinagar.
		107	Dariapur.
		110	Shamjot.
		113	Birnathpur.
		114	Jalalpur.
		117	Fatehpur.
		118	Milik Rajballavpur.
		119	Mohanpur.
		120	Jampur.
		122	Thopgram.
		123	Durgapur.
		125	Chak Itwa Kanaidanga.
		126	Ramnagar.
		128	Narainpur.
		129	Baikunthapur.
		130	Satrampur.
		132	Obhirampur.
		134	Debu.
		135	Basantpur.
		136	Nayapara.
		137	Kamalpur.
		138	Kalu.
		139	Beldanga.
		140	Rameswarpur.
		141	Gourang.
		142	Bhawanandpur.
		143	Pipra.
		144	Simla.
		145	Ganeshpur.
		146	Barari.
		147	Paharpur.
		148	Maslandpur.
		149	Mahatapur.
		150	Nurpur.
		151	Abratola.
		153	Asanpur.
		155	Mirzapur (Jhopram).
		156	Mirzapur (Basna).
		157	Jalakar Jagti.
		158	Sirasing (Gaziapara).
		159	Sirasing (Bade Gaziapara).
		160	Mirzapur Khurd.
		161	Badrudinpur.
		162	Chand Dighi.
		163	Madhupur.
		164	Ruppur.
		165	Salema.
		166	Nurai.
		167	Jot Raghu.
		168	Behbatpur.
		169	Gopalpur.
		170	Milik Gopalpur.
		171	Rupaspur.
		172	Milik Goalkhore.

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.

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Name of pargana.	Name of police-station.	Jurisdiction list number.	Name of villages.
Kankjole— <i>concl</i> d.	Barharwa— <i>concl</i> d.	174	Goalkhore.
		179	Bir Kendua.
		180	Lodhopara (Chhit).
		184	Milik Bindupara.
		185	Bindupara
		188	Nijband.
		189	Chaul Chhola.
		190	Kesabpur.
		192	Chakladaha.
		193	Salapur.
		195	Belpahari.
		196	Mehodipur.
		197	Kans Nawada.
		200	Chandanpur.
		202	Bhagwatipur.
		203	Binodpur.
		204	Kushkhetra.
		205	Attaullah.
		206	Bijoypur.
		208	Majurkola.
		224	Siulidanga.
		225	Bara Sonakar.
		47	
		238	Jagat Bati.
		207	
		239	Kashipara.
		133	
		240	Kaslea Sirasin.
		162	
		241	Kisto Bati.
Rajmahal	...	5	Khardighi Jairampur.
		6	Jairampur.
		11	Mukimpur.
		21	Saidpur Buzrug.
		22	Saidpur.
		25	Malahitola.
		26	Arazi Makinpur.
		27	Kaska.
		28	Begambad.
		30	Mahasingpur.
		31	Mundo Mala.
		32, 34	Milik Mahasingpur.
		33	Arazi Mahasingpur.
		36	Kartikdanga.
		40	Hathigarh.
		58	Gunihari.
		60	Jainabad.
		61	Said Bazar.
		62	Jumabag.
		63	Mohanpur.
		64	Mirzabazar.

Name of pargana.	Name of police-station.	Jurisdiction list number.	Name of villages.
Kankjole—concl'd.	Rajmahal—concl'd.	65	Gordhua.
		66	Bolda.
		67	Dewanhat.
		68	Naugharia.
		69	Turtipur.
		70	Khardighi.
		74	Godaganj.
		76	Nageswarbag.
		77	Muskibagh.
		78	Sukhahar.
		80	Alampur.
		82	Birpur.
		84	Begampur.
		85	Phulbagh.
		86	MalKaska.
		87	Kasimgunj.
		88	Mainatolao.
		89	Nayabazar.
		90	Dilabarpur.
		91	Moglanichak.
		93, 99	Rajabazar.
		94	Alibagh.
		95	Fategunjpur.
		98	Paranpur.
		100	Mastangarh.
		102	Samaspur.
		103	Lakhipur Sujanpur.
		104	Brahmajamalpur.
		106	Dhulahar.
		141	Baikunthapur.
		142	Bara Nimgachi.
		145	Dhuliar.
		168	Rampur.
		170	Talbona.
		171	Patna.
		172	Jamnagar.
		173	Udhua.
		174	Phudkipur.
		175	Sarfaraajgunj.
		240	Narsingpur.
		241	Sah Mahamadpur.
		243	Maheshbathan.
		244	Maheshbathan Arazi.
		245	Radhanagar.
		Dashazari	
(2 villages)	... Pakaur	...	142 Jamserpur.
Ambar			149 Panchgachhi.
(95 villages)	... Pakaur	...	11 Banbikrampur.
			19 Syamsanra.
			51 Ramchandrapur.
			52 Birgopalpur.
			53 Dadpur.

Name of pargana.	Name of police-station.	Jurisdiction list number.	Name of villages.
Ambar— <i>contd.</i>	Pakaur— <i>contd.</i>	67	Malaipur.
		68	Rajapur.
		69	Harishchandrapur.
		70	Kumarpur.
		74	Phulpahari.
		75	Sagrampur.
		76	Satrukhi.
		85	Sundarpur.
		96	Sigdla.
		101	Kartickpara.
		103	Piralipur.
		104	Hamrul.
		105	Kirtipur.
		110	Chengadanga.
		114	Chotapara <i>urf</i> Harishpara.
		116	Bahirgram.
		117	Gopalpur.
		118	Nischintapur.
		120	Chak Balarampur.
		121	Piadapur.
		123	Hiranandpur.
		126	Baliharpur.
		127	Kalikapur.
		128	Pakaur.
		130	Ishaqpur.
		131	Joykristapur <i>urf</i> Narainkhol.
		132	Fatepur.
		133	Lakhinarayanpur.
		134	Anpanagar.
		135	Kusumanagar.
		136	Bhabanipur.
		137	Kristachandrapur.
		138	Ramchandrapur.
		139	Radhanagar.
		140	Kristanagar.
		141	Naharpara.
		144	Dubrajpur.
		145	Kilbilnagar.
		146	Baidyanathpur.
		147	Madanmohanpur.
		148	Alampur <i>urf</i> Gaganpahari.
		151	Ilami.
		152	Taranagar.
		153	Chandrapara.
		154	Rahaspur.
		155	Sonapur.
		156	Manirampur.
		157	Nawada.
		158	Harihara.
		159	Gandhaipur.
		160	Kabilpur.
		161	Chandpur.

Name of pargana.	Name of police-station.	Jurisdiction list number.	Name of villages.
Ambar—concl'd.	Pakaur—concl'd.	162, 164	Ajna Arazi.
		163	Pirthinagar.
		165	Chakdamiha.
		166	Raghunandanpur.
		167	Gangarampur.
		168	Ballabhpur.
		169	Debpur.
		170	Bhabanipur.
		171	Shahabajpur.
		172	Auladanga.
		173, 174	Farsha & Jhikarhati.
		177	Chakmuripur.
		178	Kismat Lakhanpur.
		180	Lakhanpur.
		182	Kismat Kadamsair.
		183	Udainarsainpur.
		184	Jhikarhati.
		185	Bikrampur.
		186	Raghunathpur.
		188	Sitapahari.
		189	Gooripur.
		190	Nasipur.
		116	Bahirgram Kilharpara.
		191	
		171	Chak Umarpur.
		192	
		116	Jhandu Nawapara.
		193	
		116	Bipranandigram.
		194	
		116	Jhandu Ganeshpur.
		195	
		104	Hamrul.
		196	
	Hiranpur	...	17 Hiranpur Khas.
			18 Chandipur.
			19 Ranipur.
			39 Deogharia.
			40 Nayagram.
			41 Gouripur.
			42 Tarapur Khas.
			96 Torai.
			98 Debpur.
		122	Gouripur.
Sultanabad			
(92 villages)	Pakuria	...	76 Pakuria.
			100 Batrikund.
			102 Parulia.
			127 Bagrapara.
		128	Solla.

Name of pargana.	Name of police-station.	Jurisdiction list number.	Name of villages.
Sultanabad— <i>contd.</i>	Pakuria— <i>concl'd.</i>	129	Sreedharpara.
		136	Nunadanga.
		137	Bananabagram.
		140	Palashi.
		141	Umapahari.
		151	Goplanagar.
Maheshpur	...	75	Askandha.
		118	Debinagar.
		147	Sherpur.
		151	Paranpur.
		152	Magobona.
		193	Khagra.
		195	Dulalpur.
		196	Manikpur.
		197	Barkura.
		198, 232	Basta Khas.
		213	Joynagar.
		225	Raghurampur.
		226	Meerpur.
		228	Birkhti.
		229	Khisalpur.
		230	Darajpur.
		231	Golabari.
		236	Gokulpur.
		237	Kamardanga.
		238	Makdampur.
		239	Serajpur.
		240	Silempur.
		243	Nandanpur.
		246	Anapur.
		247	Saratpur.
		250	Maheshpur.
		251	Babupur.
		254	Chandrapur.
		256, 260	Laogaon.
		261	Pratabpur.
		262	Khanpur.
		263	Anupdanga.
		266	Ilaspur.
		268	Kulbona.
		269	Gokulnagar.
		270	Ghanashyampur.
		271	Lakhipur Bajotola.
		273	Dubrajpur Khas.
		274	Lakhipur.
		275	Rampur.
		276	Joypur Barunga.
		277	Kartickpara.
		278	Shyampur.
		280	Amritpur.
		281	Bhuighara.
		283	Bhimpuri.
		284	Englishpara.

Name of pargana.	Name of police-station.	Jurisdiction list number.	Name of villages.
Sultanabad—concl'd. Maheshpur—concl'd.			Nurai.
		286	Sonarpara.
		287	Kanijhara.
		288	Chaptura.
		289	Katsalla.
		291	Simpur.
		292	Garbari.
		293	Chapgawan.
		294	Suhubil.
		295	Atiapara.
		296	Dharmakhanpara.
		297	Kagajpur.
		298	Tetulia.
		299	Kansadighi.
		300	Raghunathpur.
		301	Bhatanda.
		302	Rajapur.
		303	Jagannathpur.
		304	Damdama.
		305	Gadarpara.
		306	Madhurbagan.
		307	Bara.
		308	Senpur.
		309	Palsa.
		310	Kuarpur.
		311	Barkura.
		312	Chandipur.
		313	Gangadda.
		314	Bahapur.
		315	Radipur.
		316	Ranga.
		76/342	Benodepur.
		262/345	Kanaipur Chhit.
		276/346	Mahorapur Chhit.
		276/347	Joypur Chhit-Nayagram.

*Parganas
and
tappas.*

The following is a list of the revenue *parganas* and *tappas* of each subdivision, which, with the Damin-i-koh, constitute the Santal Parganas.

Subdivision.	Pargana or tappa.	Subdivision.	Pargana or tappa.
Dumka ...	{ Belpatta.	Jamtara ...	{ Kundahit Karaya.
	{ Darin Mauleswar		{ Pabbia.
	{ Handwe.	Pakaur ...	{ Ambar.
Deoghar ...	{ Muhammadabad.		{ Sultanabad.
	{ Sarath Deoghar.		{ Akbarnagar.
	{ Amlamatia.		{ Bahadurpur.
Godda ...	{ Barkop.		{ Chitaulia.
	{ Godda.		{ Inayatnagar.
	{ Manihari.	Rajmahal	{ Jamuni.
	{ Passoi.		{ Kankjol.
	{ Patsunda.		{ Makrain.
	{ Sultanabad (part).		{ Sultanganj.
			{ Teliagarhi.

CHAPTER XIII.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

THE administration of the Santal Parganas is conducted under special Regulations, the necessity of which was established by the Santal rebellion of 1855 and has been confirmed by the experience of more than 50 years. The enquiry into the causes of the rebellion brought to light the unsuitability of the regulation system to the Santal Parganas, inhabited as they are by the Santals and other races far behind Bengalis in civilization. Accordingly, by Act XXXVII of 1855, these *parganas* were formed into a district and exempted from the operation of the general Regulations and Acts, as well as of any laws subsequently passed in which the district was not specially mentioned, except in regard to civil suits above Rs. 1,000 in value, the collection of revenue in permanently-settled estates, the sale of lands for arrears of revenue, etc. The exempted tract was placed under the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division assisted by a Deputy Commissioner and a number of Assistant and Extra Assistant Commissioners. In 1856 a few simple rules for civil and criminal administration were laid down for the guidance of these officers; and for some years the Santal Parganas were administered on a strict non-Regulation system. The chief principles of this system were that (1) no advocates, no pleaders or *mukhtars*, and no middlemen between Government officers and the people were permitted; (2) the contact with the people was direct; (3) there was no regular police; and (4) the spirit of the laws not in force was regarded, but no technical forms were allowed.

When the memory of the Santal rebellion grew fainter the Government changed its policy. The rules in regard to the administration of criminal justice remained in operation till 1862, when the Penal Code was introduced; and although the Code of Criminal Procedure was not formally extended to the district, its officers were directed to act in accordance with its spirit. In 1863 a question arose whether the stamp law could not be enforced in the Santal Parganas, and the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Cecil Beadon, expressed his opinion that the Santal Parganas should, as soon as practicable,

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TIONS.

be administered on the system in force in the rest of Bengal. These instructions and views were followed for some years, with the result that the Santal Parganas drifted more or less under the ordinary law and procedure of regulation districts. The Rent Law, the Civil Procedure Code, the Stamp Act and other Acts were considered to be in force, and the Deputy Commissioner was practically transformed into a Judge, with headquarters at Bhagalpur.

The dissatisfaction caused by this change of system culminated in the disturbances of 1871. An inquiry was held, which showed that the Santals had real and substantial grievances, and the Government of India came to the conclusion that the indiscriminate extension of some of the Acts of the legislature to the Santal Parganas had worked much mischief, and that the district still required a simpler form of administration than the rest of Bengal. The Lieutenant-Governor accordingly recommended that the Santal Parganas should be removed from the operation of the laws applicable generally to Bengal and suggested that the best mode of effecting this object was to bring it within the scope of Act 33 Vic. cap. 3 (passed in Parliament in March 1870), which enabled local Governments to make regulations for the peace and good government of territories to which the Act might be applied by the Secretary of State. This measure, followed by a suitable regulation, would, it was believed, place the action of Government on a legal basis, which would be wholly unassailable and which would best enable Government to apply from time to time the exact remedies required for evils which had been or might be shown to exist, without violently or unnecessarily disturbing the law or general administration of the district.

The Government of India acquiesced in this view, and the measure having received the approval of the Secretary of State, a notification was issued announcing the extension of the provisions of section 1 of Act 33 Vic. cap. 3 to the Santal Parganas. The Government of Bengal then submitted, and the Government of India sanctioned, a Regulation for the peace and good government of the Santal Parganas, which passed into law as Regulation III of 1872. This Regulation gave the Lieutenant-Governor full power to appoint officers to make a settlement of landed rights, to restore dispossessed *manjhis* and others, to settle rents and to record the customs

and usages of the people. It also introduced a usury law limiting the accumulation of interest on debts; and it laid down what laws were to be in force in the Santal Parganas and what were left to the discretion of Government to introduce or withdraw as might be found desirable from time to time. The Lieutenant-Governor further took away from the Deputy Commissioner his powers as Sessions Judge and assigned them to the Sessions Court of Birbhum and Bhagalpur. At the same time he brought within the Santal Parganas the administration of civil justice, which for suits of over Rs. 1,000 in value had hitherto been exercised by the Civil Courts of those two districts. He further removed the Deputy Commissioner from Bhagalpur and posted him at Dumka, in the heart of his district, in order that he might be able to control its affairs adequately.

It was subsequently found necessary to define more clearly the status of the Courts, and this was effected by the enactment of Regulation V of 1893. In regard to criminal jurisdiction that Regulation constituted the Santal Parganas a Sessions Division, the Court of the Deputy Commissioner the Court of Sessions of the Division, and the Deputy Commissioner the Judge of the Court of Sessions. It also provided that the High Court at Calcutta should (1) exercise jurisdiction in regard to European British subjects, (2) deal with all cases in which sentences of death had been passed, and (3) hear all appeals from orders of acquittal. In 1899 a regulation amending Regulation V of 1893, came into force. The new Regulation constituted the Court of the Sessions Judge of Birbhum the Court of Sessions for the Santal Parganas Sessions Division, and the Sessions Judge of Birbhum the Judge of the Court of Sessions, the powers of a Sessions Judge exercised by the Deputy Commissioner being withdrawn. It further provided that the High Court at Calcutta, in addition to its jurisdiction under the Regulation of 1893, should exercise appellate and revisional jurisdiction in respect of all Sessions cases tried by the Judge of Birbhum; that the Deputy Commissioner should have appellate jurisdiction over the subordinate courts of the district, and that the Commissioner should have appellate jurisdiction over the Deputy Commissioner and revisional jurisdiction over all the courts of the district. By Regulation IV of 1912 and by notification no. 11-A., dated the 1st April 1912, issued in pursuance of

that Regulation, the Court of Sessions and the Sessions Judge of Bhagalpur were declared to be Court of Sessions and the Sessions Judge for Santal Parganas Division, the Session Court sitting within the district. Regulation V of 1893 was further amended by Regulation IV of 1933, which empowered the local Government to appoint any officer to be a Subordinate Judge and to empower any Magistrate with powers under section 30 of the Criminal Procedure Code. It further provided (1) that when in any case a Magistrate specially empowered under section 30, passed any sentence of imprisonment for a term exceeding four years or any sentence of transportation, the appeal of all or any of the accused convicted at such trial should lie to the Commissioner and (2) that the Deputy Commissioner might direct that any appeal by any person convicted or sentenced under section 349, by any Magistrate other than the Deputy Commissioner or any class of such appeals should be heard by any Magistrate of the first class subordinate to him and empowered by the local Government to hear such appeals.

ADMINISTRATIVE
CHARGES
AND
STAFF.

For administrative purposes the district is divided into six subdivisions with headquarters at Dumka, Deoghar, Godda, Jamtara, Pakaur and Rajmahal. The sanctioned strength of Deputy and Sub-Deputy Collectors employed on general duty at the district headquarters of Dumka and at the headquarters of the several subdivisions is shown in the table below.

		Deputy Magistrate Deputy Collector.	Sub-Deputy Magistrate Sub-Deputy Collector.
Dumka	...	7	1 (Out of the Divisional Re- serve of 5 S. D. Cs.)
Deoghar	...	3	1
Godda	...	2	1
Rajmahal	...	2	1
Jamtara	...	1	1
Pakaur	...	2	...

Besides the Stipendiary Magistrates, there are Honorary Magistrates at Jamtara, Pakaur, Hiranpur and Dumka and benches of Honorary Magistrates at Deoghar, Madhupur and Sahibgunj.

The administration of justice in the Santal Parganas is governed by the Santal Parganas Justice Regulation V of 1893, as amended by Regulation III of 1899, and differs materially from that in force elsewhere in Bengal. The jurisdiction of the High Court is restricted to the following matters:— (1) criminal cases tried by the Court of Sessions; (2) appeals by the Government against acquittals under section 417 of the Criminal Procedure Code; (3) criminal proceeding against European British subjects and persons charged jointly with them; and (4) civil suits in which the matter in dispute exceeds the value of Rs. 1,000, except suits relating to land or any office connected with land when a settlement is going on. As regards the former suits its appellate authority is limited to the orders of courts established under Act XII of 1887, which, under section 9 of Regulation V of 1893, have jurisdiction extending only to "suits of which the value exceeds Rs. 1,000 and which are not excluded from their cognizance by the Santal Parganas Regulation or by any other law for the time being:" in the case of such suits the Civil Procedure Code is applicable. In other matters the functions of a High Court of Judicature are exercised by the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division and Santal Parganas.

The Sessions Judge of Bhagalpur is Sessions Judge for the Santal Parganas, while the Deputy Commissioner exercises powers under section 30 of the Criminal Procedure Code and also hears appeals from all Deputy Magistrates. Since 19th August 1932, one of the seven Deputy Magistrates stationed at the headquarters station of the district is also being vested with powers under section 30 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Suits of a value exceeding Rs. 1,000 are tried by the Deputy Commissioner as District Judge or by Subdivisional Officers vested with powers as Subordinate Judges. Since 17th August 1935, one of the Deputy Collectors at Deoghar has been appointed as a Second Subordinate Judge within the local limits of that subdivision. These courts being established under Act XII of 1887, are subordinate to the High Court of Judicature at Patna. Suits valued at less than Rs. 500 are tried by Deputy and Sub-Deputy Collectors sitting as courts under Act XXXVII of 1855, appeals lying against their decisions to the Subdivisional Officer. The latter can try all suits cognizable by courts established under Act XXXVII of 1855, and an appeal against their decisions lies to the Deputy Commissioner. There

is no second appeal where the appellate court has upheld the original decree; but if the decree has been reversed a second appeal lies to the Commissioner of the Division. The Deputy Commissioner and Commissioner have powers of revision.

These courts follow a simple procedure, 63 simple rules replacing the Code of Civil Procedure. A decree is barred after three years; imprisonment for debt is subject to the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner; compound interest may not be decreed for an amount exceeding the principal debt. When any area is brought under settlement the jurisdiction of the courts under Act XII of 1887, and also of those under Act XXXVII of 1855, is ousted in regard to all suits connected with land, and such suits are tried by the Settlement Officer and his assistants. The finding of a settlement court has the force of a decree.

The Penal Code, the Evidence Act, the Registration Act, the Limitation Act, the Contract Act, and the Guardian and Wards Act are all in force. Practically the only important laws in force in Bihar that are not applicable to the Santal Parganas are the Civil Procedure Code (as regards suits not exceeding Rs. 1,000 in value), the Legal Practitioners' Act, the Transfer of Property Act and the Bengal Tenancy Act. The place of the Act last named is taken by the Santal Parganas Regulations III of 1872 and II of 1886, and by the record-of-rights framed under them for each village. In criminal cases the accused is entitled, under section 340 of the Criminal Procedure Code to be defended by a pleader, but as the Legal Practitioners' Act is not in force the employment of a pleader is, under section 4 (r) of the Code, subject to the permission of the court. In practice, the accused is allowed a pleader when the police are permitted to conduct the prosecution or when the charge is of a serious or somewhat complex nature; but pleaders are not usually allowed in simple cases where either of the parties is too poor to afford one. In cases before the Sessions Judge pleaders are allowed as a matter of course.

In suits tried by Subdivisional Officers, in their capacity as Subordinate Judges, the parties are considered to be entitled to employ pleaders, and it is laid down that these suits have to be tried according to the general laws and regulations. In civil cases before the Santal Courts no pleader or *mukhtar*

may be employed (except where all parties are Dikkus) without the previous consent of the Court which shall not be given except for special reasons. The usual practice is to allow pleaders when both sides can afford it and ask for it. If the request is refused it is only when the case is of a very simple nature and the parties would be merely wasting their money in employing pleaders. When one party is poor and cannot afford a pleader the court may, at its discretion, refuse to allow a pleader's services to be retained by the other party. In special Revenue Court under Regulation III of 1872 and Regulation II of 1886, pleaders are not ordinarily permitted. In appeals pleaders are almost always allowed if asked for. Cases very often occur in which the courts themselves advise the parties to engage pleaders, but they decline to have them as they have learned to trust the courts to give their cases proper consideration. The Deputy Commissioner regulates admission of pleaders to the Santal Courts in accordance with the amount of litigation and keeps a list of approved pleaders. In spite of these limitations, there is a body of 90 legal practitioners, men who have fully qualified as pleaders and *mukhtars* and apparently get sufficient employment to make it worth their while to work in the district. There is also 93 petition-writers, licensed by the Deputy Commissioner, who are to all intents and purposes qualified to draw up complaints and written statements, and to this extent do the work of legal practitioners.

In 1855, the Santals broke out in rebellion which after Police. considerable loss of life and destruction of property, was put down. The Commissioner appointed to suppress the rising was Mr. Bidwell and his deputy was Mr. (afterwards Sir A.) Eden. On its conclusion, Mr. Bidwell submitted a report enumerating the legitimate grievances which the Santals had with reason complained of. The Government finding that the system under which the Santals had been ruled had a principal share in causing the rebellion, resolved, on its being suppressed, to change the system and remove the abuses. The main principle of the new system was Local Self-Government under strong and trustworthy supervision. First the Damin and the neighbouring areas inhabited by Santals were separated from the neighbouring districts of Birbhum and Bhagalpur and formed by Regulations XXXVII of 1855 into the present district of the Santal Parganas composed of 5 districts. These

5 districts were placed under the control of a Deputy and 4 Assistant Commissioners each of whom had a Sub-Assistant at a central point of his division. These 10 officers were intended simply for the purpose of doing justice to the common people. They were to try civil and criminal cases and do the criminal work. They had no revenue work and the trial of suits over Rs. 1,000 in value was carried on by the district staff of Birbhum and Bhagalpur. In those days civil suits were very few in number and easily disposed of. The main business of these 10 officers was that of police. They were available for and expected to undertake the enquiries into all important police cases.

This was followed by a set of rules, originally drafted by Sir A. Eden for the Police Administration of the district. These rules are best known as "Yule's Rules", after Sir George Yule, the then Commissioner of Bhagalpur. They abolished the Naibsazowals and their underlings, and in their stead established a self-governing police throughout the district. The main feature of these rules was that in the plains villages, the headman was vested with police powers, to be exercised in his own village, assisted by the village *chaukidar*. The chief police powers and the power of supervision were vested in the *parganait*, assisted by his *desmanjhi*, *chakladar* and *gorait*. In the hills similar power were given to the *manjhis* under the supervision of the *sardars* assisted by their *naibs*. In the non-aboriginal villages where there were no headmen, a *sarkari mandal* appointed by election, was vested with police powers of the headman. The system continued throughout the district till 1865 when the Bengal Police Act was introduced into what was then known as the Deoghar district (consisting of the present subdivisions of Deoghar and Jamtara and *taluks* Tasaria and Gumro now in the Dumka subdivision). In the Jamtara subdivision, there was a thana at Jamtara and four outposts at Afzalpur Kundahit, Nalla and Ghati and a court at Nalla which was then the headquarters station of the tract. The headquarters station was subsequently transferred from Nalla to Jamtara in 1869. The districts of Dumka, Godda and Rajmahal were left to go on as before.

In 1872, the Santal Parganas was formed into a revenue non-regulation district. The Deputy Commissioner was appointed to be the District Officer and was directed to live

at Dumka instead of at Bhagalpur. Dumka was made the headquarters of the district and the three divisions of Deoghar, Rajmahal and Godda were reduced from the stations of districts to that of subdivisions. The areas now comprising the subdivisions of Pakaur and Jamtara were attached as outposts to Dumka and of the police district of Deoghar, that part which is included in Jamtara subdivision and in *taluks* Tasaria and Gumro, was withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the regular police and included in the no police area.

In Bengal Government resolution of the 5th December 1872, an enquiry was made as to whether it was desirable to establish any kind of police outposts in any part of the Dumka country. In reply to this, Mr. Wood who was the Deputy Commissioner at the time reported as follows in paragraphs 26-29 of his letter no. 11, dated the 4th January 1873.

"I think it would be advisable to have such outposts not only in that subdivision but throughout the whole district. for the purpose of giving information within their respective beats and of assisting the village police in the detection of crime and the apprehension of offenders.

In regard to Deoghar, I would retain, the present system and the inspector, who, however, should be stationed at Madhupur, on the East Indian Railway where the thana is to be instead of at Deoghar.

With reference to the outposts to be spread over Dumka and other subdivisions, I would propose that the duties of the police should be somewhat different. The object in view would be to keep up communication throughout the year between the headquarters and the several subdivisions; to facilitate the escort of prisoners, treasure, abkaree, pound and other collections, secure constant information as regards what may be going on in the Santal country; while at the same time acting as a check on the concealment of crime by the village police and landholders. I would not allow these outpost officers in any way to interfere with the duties of the present village police, *ghatwals* and landholders or relieve these latter of the responsibility of reporting crime and arresting offenders. The police might in the more heinous class of offences, such as murder, dacoity and highway robbery, be authorised to assist the village authorities under rules to be hereafter framed for their guidance. I would make the constables at the several outposts patrol their respective beats,

reporting all matters coming to their notice to the head-constable in charge of their post; it would be the duty of those officers to report such matters to the sub-inspector and the latter to the Assistant Superintendent of Police, and in cases of emergency, to the nearest Subdivisional Officer direct. It would be the duty of the Assistant Superintendent of Police to lay all such information before the District Officer, and in important cases, he would be required to assist the district and local officers in making local investigation. Considering that it would be best to retain the police in Deoghar as at present constituted, and to have in addition to the outposts proposed to be established in other parts of the country, I think it desirable that the services of the present Assistant Superintendent of Police should be retained.

The duties of this police force will be of an important nature; careful and trustworthy supervision will be highly desirable. His duties will be in point of fact, nearer and more responsible than they are at present, for independent of actual police work, he would have to superintend the drill, transfer, leave, promotion, pay and other departmental duties of the whole force employed in the Santal Parganas, whether as regular police guards or outposts duties."

In forwarding this report to Government, Mr. G. N. Barlow who was the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division at the time noted as below.

"Having so lately joined my present appointment, I feel that my opinion as to the desirability of extending the regular police system throughout the Santal Parganas is worth very little. It certainly strikes me that, considering that the exclusion of the *parganas* from ordinary police jurisdiction, has been the regular and specific policy up to date, something more than the simple remark of the Deputy Commissioner in paragraph 26 of his report that "he thinks it would be desirable to have outposts, etc." is needed to be shown as grounds for proposed change at this time. I will see the Deputy Commissioner and discuss the matter with him. Afterwards, I can if necessary report further. Meanwhile, in a police statement which I annex, I have adopted the proposal made to me by Mr. Dalrymple, viz. without any extension of the regular police system, to give each Subdivisional Officer a sub-inspector, who should be a sharp and picked man, to be at his beck and call, able to take up and

follow out traces of organised crime, or at leisure to move about the country gathering general information. To this Officer should be attached two orderly constables for whom, he would be altogether responsible. By this means, I think something may be done in police work in an independent direction as well as in the way of exercising some degree of supervision over the village police system; at the same time the danger of imposing what I can only term a regular police yoke upon the people, which it has always been held they are unsuited to bear, will be avoided."

In June 1873, Mr. Barlow submitted a further report in which he noted as below:—

"I am bound to say that the Deputy Commissioner's report does not in any way have the effect of recommending to my mind the scheme for establishing outposts throughout Santalia. I hope and believe that under the operation of the new settlement Regulation all cause for and chance of political uneasiness is removed and therefore upon this one questionable view that I see in the proposal, viz. that in the direction of gaining information of what is going on amongst the people we might be better served than by the present village police system. I do not care to adopt all the manifold disadvantages attending the introduction of an outpost system in the *parganas*. If police in parties working under their officers once are stationed about the district, I am satisfied the effect of a dual system will be to destroy the village police. I do not want the gigantic system of reporting which the Deputy Commissioner proposes as the object of the outpost system and it is opposed to the whole Santal district method with the ordinary work of reporting crime and arresting criminals done as successfully as it is at present by the village heads. I consider that the special duties referred to by the Deputy Commissioner can be taken up and successfully dealt with to a sufficient extent and a certain stimulus and control afforded generally to the village police system without the formal location of police under a simple plan.

I approve to increase the scale of reserve for the whole force entered at headquarters. An arrangement which would in case of emergency give us certain assistance which we might require, while in ordinarily quiet times it would admit of the detachment of picked men either at headquarter or to

the subdivisions to take up and work out under the orders of the *hakcam* the very duties proposed by the Deputy Commissioner. The District Superintendent would exercise control over and look after the efficiency of all his men but in respect of the proportion of men on the reserve who might be employed without the lines, he and they would take orders as to their duties from day to day from the district and Subdivisional Officers ”.

The establishment of the Intelligence Department at the headquarters of each subdivision (except Deoghar) on the lines suggested by Mr. Barlow was sanctioned in Bengal Government, Judicial Department letter no. 4789, dated the 29th October 1873. After the census disturbance of 1881, Mr. Oldham who was the Deputy Commissioner at the time reported that the want of a police to deal with ordinary crime was most felt where the village community system with its responsible headman was weakest as well as where the population was most mixed and least primitive. He therefore recommended that (1) an armed reserve be maintained at Dumka, (2) the police system on the model of that existing in the Deoghar subdivision be extended to the Zamindari portions of the subdivisions of Godda, Rajmahal and Pakaur, (3) the Damin-i-koh while still remaining exempt from this system should maintain two posts or stations of armed police, and (4) in the Jamtara subdivision the then existing system should remain unchanged as the whole of the subdivision was parcelled out among the several *Ghat choukidars* and *ghat sardars*, called *ghatwals*, but the intelligence police established there should be strengthened.

In the south of the Dumka subdivision survived fair area or centres of minor *ghatwali* police which was recognized in 1879 and put in constant communication with the headquarters. So Mr. Oldham suggested no change in the Dumka subdivision.* These proposals were supported by Mr. Barlow, Commissioner and Mr. Munro, Inspector-General of Police and were approved in Bengal Government letter no. 2701-J., dated the 31st July 1882. It was, however, directed by Government that the

*There were 3 *ghatwals*, 4 *ghat jamadars* and one *ghat mahorir* in tappa Muhammadabad. The lands held by these men were resumed under orders contained in Bengal Government Revenue Department letter no 2247-T. R., dated the 9th October 1907.

village police and the village officers should not be abolished anywhere in the *parganas* but that the village establishment would work with the regular police. Thus from 1883, the regular police was introduced throughout the district excluding the Damin-i-koh and the Dumka and Jamtara subdivisions.

In 1902, a regular Police force was established in Dumka town comprising villages Dumka, Dudhani and Rasikpur and under notification no. 4369-P., dated the 21st October 1913 the jurisdiction of Dumka Police-station was extended to 11 other villages adjoining the Dumka town.

The Intelligence Department Sub-Inspectors of Dumka and Jamtara were replaced by Inspectors (one in each subdivision) on the recommendation of Mr. Bompas in 1903. As the jurisdiction of each of the non-police tracts of Dumka and Jamtara was too large for one officer to manage, the Government of Bihar and Orissa, in their letter no. 1871-P., dated the 23rd March 1923, sanctioned the employment of two additional Inspectors one in each subdivision as an experimental measure. The retention of the services of these two additional inspectors as a permanent measure was sanctioned in Government Political Department Police Branch letter no. 1503-P., dated the 20th February 1925.

The regular police system is in force in Dumka town, in the Deoghar subdivision and in those parts of the Godda, Pakaur and Rajmahal subdivisions which lie outside the Damin-i-koh. In this part of the district there are 15 police-stations including the town police-station at Dumka as noted below.

Subdivision.	Police-station.
Dumka ..	.. Dumka.
Deoghar ..	.. Deoghar, Madhupur, Sareth and Sarwan.
Godda ..	.. Godda, Mahagama and Pareyahat.
Pakaur ..	.. Pakaur, Maheshpur, Pakuria and Hiranpur.
Rajmahal ..	.. Rajmahal, Sahibgunj and Barharwa.

The regular police force (in 1936) consisted of a Superintendent of police, two Deputy Superintendents of Police, one surgent-major, eight inspectors, forty-two sub-inspectors, thirty-two assistant sub-inspectors, seventeen habildars and

four hundred and six constables in all five hundred nine men. Of these, four inspectors, four assistant sub-inspectors and nine constables are meant for the Intelligence police in the Dumka and Jamtara subdivisions.

The system of village police administration was organized in 1901 and 1902 in consequence of the enactment of Regulation III of 1900 (now Regulation IV of 1910 which repealed Regulation III of 1900) which first gave the rural police a legal status and provided for their regular payment. It did not affect the police duties of the village headmen, but it provided for the appointment of *sardars* and deputy *sardars* to perform the duties of control which were formerly carried out by the *parganait*s, *ghatwals* and others, and it gave the Deputy Commissioner power to fix their remuneration and that of the *chaukidars*, who are selected by the villagers. The assessment to be paid by each village having been fixed by him, is distributed among the villagers and is collected from them by their headmen or where there is no headmen by the *adaikari* appointed for the purpose. Under the system the "no-police tract" outside the ordinary police jurisdiction is served by *sardars* (outside the Damini), *parganait* (inside the Damini) and *chaukidars* who are directly under the authority of the Subdivisional Officer. The *sardari* circle (consisting of group of villages for the jurisdiction of each *sardar*) forms an administrative unit except in the Damini-koh where the unit is the Bungalow within the jurisdiction of a *parganait*. The *sardar* or the *parganait* has the powers of an officer in charge of a police-station. The *sardar* is appointed by the Deputy Commissioner on the recommendation of the headmen of the villages comprised in the circle. The posts of the Damini *parganait*s are more or less hereditary and succession breaks only on gross misconduct. Crime is ordinarily reported by the *sardars* and *parganait*s direct to the Subdivisional Officers who occasionally find it necessary to employ an officer of the regular police on cases of a serious and intricate nature. In the no-police tracts of Dumka and Jamtara, the *sardars* send their reports to the Intelligence police. A *sardar* in the police tracts has no power like the *sardar* in the no-police tracts. He is subordinate to the officer in charge of the police-station and supervises the work of *chaukidars*, checks the reports of births and deaths and looks after the collection of *chaukidari* tax by headmen or *adaikaris* and submits a weekly diary to the Subdivisional Officer

showing his movements. The table below shows the strength of rural police as it stood in 1935.

Name of subdivision.	Number of sardars in the police tract paid wholly in cash.	No. of no-police tract sardars		Deputy sardars in the no-police tract.	Damin parganais.	No of chaukidars.			
		Wholly in cash.	Wholly in jagir.			Paid wholly in cash.	Paid partly in cash and partly in jagir.	Paid wholly in jagir lands.	Dem in chaukidars.
Deoghar ...	...	...	...	...	...	Rs. 385	Rs. 70	243	...
Godda ...	31	..	...	...	13	320	207	..	156
Jamtara ...	...	20	7	3	...	143	134	380	...
Pakaur ...	...	...	...	...	12	284	164	...	144
Rajmahal ...	13	..	...	...	14	228	3	...	363
Dumka ...	...	58	...	2	9	596	118	48	52

This is exclusive of the 18 *paharia sardars*, 29 *naibs* and 348 *majhis* who are still in receipt of stipends granted during Mr. Cleveland's administration.

There are subsidiary Jails at Deoghur, Godda, Jamtara, Jails. Pakaur and Rajmahal. The table below shows the accommodation in the District Jail and in the sub-jails in the year 1936.

District.	Barracks without separate sleeping accommodation.		Hospital.		Separate cells.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Jail Dumka ...	132	11	16	...	3	...
Sub-jail Deoghar ...	29	3	...	...	2	...
„ Godda ...	36	4	...	...	2	1
„ Jamtara ...	23	3	...	...	...	...
„ Pakaur ...	17	4	...	...	...	...
„ Rajmahal ...	30	3	...	...	2	..

The principal industries carried on in the District Jail at Dumka are oil-pressing, stone-breaking and wheat and dal

grinding. The industries carried on in the sub-jails are noted below :—

Deoghar	...	Wheat grinding.
Godda	...	Wheat, dal and rice grinding and jute rope making.
Jamtara	...	Wheat and grain grinding.
Pakaur	...	Rope making.

No industries are carried on in the Rajmahal sub-jail.

Revenue.

The Revenue of the district under the main heads rose from Rs. 4,70,000 in 1880-81 (when the income-tax had not been imposed) to Rs. 5,63,000 in 1890-91 and to Rs. 6,79,000 in 1900-01. In 1907-08 it amounted to Rs. 10,94,000 of which Rs. 4,02,000 were derived from land revenue, Rs. 4,58,000 from excise, Rs. 1,08,000 from stamps, Rs. 45,000 from income-tax and Rs. 9,000 from cess. In 1935-36 the revenue amounted to Rs. 17,26,200 as noted below :—

			Rs.
Land Revenue	...	...	4,90,000
Excise	...	...	5,92,600
Income-tax	...	...	1,08,000
Stamps	...	...	3,80,400
Cesses	...	...	1,55,200
			<hr/>
			17,26,200
			<hr/>

Land Revenue.

The table below shows the collections of Land Revenue proper in different years beginning from 1880-81 :—

			Rs.
1880-81	...	...	2,43,000
1890-91	...	...	2,90,000
1900-01	...	...	2,88,000
1907-08	...	...	4,02,000
1917-18	...	...	4,23,336
1927-28	...	...	5,40,654
1935-36	...	...	4,90,227

The current demand in the last year mentioned was Rs. 5,80,192 payable by 468 estates, Rs. 1,14,933 being due from 449 permanently settled estates, Rs. 6,021 from two temporarily leased out Government estates and Rs. 4,59,238 from 17 estates held by Government under direct management. Of the 449 permanently settled estates, one estate with a land revenue demand of Rs. 3,132-2-0 has been transferred to Malda with effect from 1st April 1936. The low collection in 1935-36 was due to continued economic depression since the latter part of the year 1930.

The Excise revenue increased from Rs. 1,65,000 in 1892-93 to Rs. 2,19,000 in 1900-01. Since that year there has been a further growth in the receipts, which in 1907-08 amounted to Rs. 4,58,000 the net Excise revenue being Rs. 2,344 per 10,000 of population (or a little over 3½ annas a head), as compared with Rs. 2,697 for the Division and Rs. 3,206 for the Province. The greater portion of the Excise revenue is derived from country spirit prepared by distillation from the flower of the mohua trees (*Bassia latifolia*). The receipts from this source amounted in 1907-08 to Rs. 2,78,000 or more than 3/5ths of the total Excise revenue. The manufacture and sale of country spirit were, until 1907-08, carried on under what is known as the central distillery system, i.e., there were central distilleries at the headquarters stations of Naya Dumka, Deoghar, Rajmahal, Pakaur and Godda which served the whole district. In 1907-08 the contract supply system was introduced in Deoghar, Jamtara, Rajmahal and Pakaur subdivisions i.e., the central distilleries at those places, were closed down and the contract for the wholesale supply of spirit given out to firms of distillers working patent stills on modern methods. The contractors were forbidden to hold any retail licenses for sale of liquor, but were allowed the use of distillery and warehouse buildings for the storage of liquor. The right of retail vend was covered by separate licenses each of which was put up to auction; and the retail vendors were forbidden to sell liquor except at prescribed strengths, for which maximum prices were fixed. The central distillery system was in force in the Dumka, and Godda subdivisions up to 1907-08 after which year the contract distillery system was

introduced in these two subdivisions also. The marginal figures shows the revenue from			country spirit in 1889-90 under the outstill system, in 1905-06 under the central distillery system, in 1907-08 under that and the contract system combined, from 1912-13 to 1931-32 under the contract system and in 1933-34 and 1935-36 under the contract system and outstill system combined. According to the returns for the year last mentioned there were 141 shops for retail sale i.e.
Year.	Rs.		
1889-90	... 54,000		
1905-06	... 1,56,000		
1907-08	... 2,78,000		
1912-13	... 2,96,000		
1913-14	... 3,25,000		
1914-15	... 3,84,000		
1923-24	... 5,07,000		
1931-32	... 1,57,000		
1933-34	... 2,49,000		
1935-36	... 3,61,000		

one retail shop to every 38.8 square miles and every 12,835 persons. The average consumption is 46 proof gallons per 1,000 of population, the incidence of taxation per head of population is $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas.

The receipts from *pachwai* or rice beer, were also not insignificant, amounting to Rs. 58,000 in 1907-08 which rose to Rs. 1,53,000 in 1925-26 but went down to Rs. 53,000 only in 1933-34 when outstills were reopened. This is a national drink of the aboriginals, who regard it as a nutritious food as well and utilize it as a substitute for a meal. The consumption of the fermented palm juice known as *tari* was not great, its sale in the same year realising only Rs. 20,000. The receipts from hemp drugs and opium accounted for practically all the remainder of the Excise revenue. The greater part (Rs. 79,000) was derived from the duty and license fees levied on *ganja*, i.e., the dried flowering tops of the cultivated female hemp plant (*Cannabis Sativa*) and the resinous exudation on them. The expenditure on hemp drugs represents Rs. 447 per 10,000 of population. In 1907-08 the duty and license fees on opium brought in Rs. 20,000 and the incidence of revenue was Rs. 113 per 10,000 of population. The revenue from this source was the highest in 1925-26 being Rs. 72,000.

The Excise revenue came down from Rs. 4,54,000 in 1908-09 to Rs. 3,92,000 in 1909-10. The fall is mainly under head country spirit from Rs. 2,72,000 in 1908-09 to Rs. 2,04,000 the next year. During the latter year there was however an increase of Rs. 9,000 in *pachawi* from Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 59,000.

By 1911-12 both consumption and revenue almost recovered the lost ground, the receipts being Rs. 4,48,000. The increase was shared by country spirit, *ganja* and *pachwai*, but country spirit was the most important factor.

Since 1911-12 there was a steady increase till 1914-15 when the figures rose to Rs. 6,53,000, but was followed by a drop again to Rs. 5,66,000 in the next year i.e. 1915-16. The decrease both in consumption and revenue was shared mainly by country spirit and *ganja*. For some years after this there was nothing remarkable but again from 1920-21 to 1923-24 there was an unprecedented increase from Rs. 6,28,000 in 1920-21 to Rs. 9,40,000 in 1923-24.

In 1924-25 again there was a fall to Rs. 8,49,000 followed by a recovery to Rs. 9,27,000 in 1925-26. Since then there has been a definite set back and the revenue went down steadily to Rs. 3,96,000 in 1931-32. This downward career was not only checked but a steady improvement was obtained by the replacement of the distillery system by the outstill system and by 1935-36 the revenue has gone up to Rs. 5,92,000 in spite of a decrease both in consumption and revenue from the drugs. The revenue from country spirit during this period rose from Rs. 1,57,000 in 1931-32 to Rs. 3,61,000 in 1935-36.

In October 1932, 21 distillery liquor shops in the Godda subdivision, 10 in Sadr subdivision and 16 in Pakaur subdivision out of the total number of 143 shops in the district were converted into outstill shops because the outstill liquor being cheaper than the distillery liquor suited the consumers whose purchasing power had gone down owing to the acute economic depression. The warehouses at Godda and Pakaur which supplied contract distillery liquor to the retail shops were abolished from 1st October 1932 as a result of conversion of those distillery shops into outstills. In the next year the outstill system was extended to 43 more distillery shops and in the year 1934-35 to 3 more distillery shops and in the year 1935-36 to 11 more distillery shops and the number of distillery shops in the district during this year was 44 only. In the same year the number of warehouses was reduced from 4 to 3 due to the fact that the warehouse at Jamtara was abolished owing to the conversion of all the distillery shops of that subdivision into outstills from the 1st April 1935.

Stamps.

The revenue from stamps rank next in importance as a source of income to that derived from Excise. The receipt from this source increased from Rs. 1,38,000 in 1897-98 to Rs. 1,80,000 in 1907-08 and to Rs. 3,80,400 in 1935-36. The revenue derived from the sale of judicial and non-judicial stamps is compared in the table below:—

Year.	Judicial stamps.	Non-judicial stamps.
	Rs.	Rs.
1907-08	... 1,53,000	27,000
1935-36	... 3,30,300	50,100

Cesses.

The Cess Act was introduced in 1901 into some selected portions of the district in which resettlement operations had been concluded and was subsequently extended to the whole of the district excluding the Damin as portions of the district came under settlement. The valuation of all the Estates excluding the Damin was completed in March 1910 with a resulting cess on land amounting to Rs. 87,863. The revaluation operation was postponed till the last revision settlement operations of 1922—35. The revaluation of the whole district with the exception of only 18 estates was completed during the years 1927-28 to 1935-36 and the resultant demand on account of cess at the maximum rate of /1/ anna on each rupee on annual value of lands amounted to Rs. 1,15,824 on 1st April 1936. In 1935-36, the cess demand was Rs. 1,53,531 as below:—

Rs. 1,10,360 payable by 693 revenue paying estates and separate accounts,

Rs. 2,080 payable by 140 revenue free estates and separate accounts,

Rs. 49 payable by 3 rent free lands,

Rs. 9,470 payable by 189, mines and quarries annually assessed to cesses under Chapter VI, and

Rs. 31,572 payable by Collectors of other districts on account of portions of estates situated in this district but borne on the revenue roll of their districts.

The number of tenures assessed to cesses was 5,826, while the number of recorded shareholders of estates and tenures was 2,632 and 10,263, respectively.

In 1900-01, the income-tax yielded altogether Rs. 29,803 Income-tax.
paid by 1,472 assesseees of whom 940, paying Rs. 10,720, had incomes over Rs. 500 but below Rs. 1,000. At that time the minimum assessable income was Rs. 500, but this was raised in 1903 by the Income-Tax Amendment Act of that year, to Rs. 1,000 per annum thereby affording relief to a number of petty traders, money lenders and clerks. The number of assesseees consequently fell in 1903-04 to 758, the net collections being Rs. 32,200. In 1907-08, the amount collected was Rs. 45,000 paid by 917 assesseees. In 1918-19, the minimum assessable limit was raised to Rs. 2,000. It was again lowered to Rs. 1,000 in 1931-32 as an emergency measure and has been raised again to Rs. 2,000 from 1936-37. From 1933-34 to 1935-36, for the purpose of Income-Tax Administration, the district of Santal Parganas was split up into two portions—Deoghar and Jamtara subdivisions being tagged to Monghyr and the rest of the district to Bhagalpur. In 1932-33, the total amount collected on account of income-tax was Rs. 1,14,986 paid by 870 assesseees of whom 373 had incomes over Rs. 1,000 but below Rs. 2,000. The amount collected during the year 1935-36 was Rs. 1,08,000.

There are six offices one in each subdivisional headquarters Registration.
for the registration of assurances under the Indian Registration Act XVI of 1908. The Registration offices at Dumka, Deoghar, Godda, and Jamtara are managed by the members of the Executive Service who are *ex-officio* registering officers, whereas the Rajmahal and the Pakaur offices are managed by departmental sub-registrars. The office of the Sub-Registrar at the headquarters station at Dumka has been amalgamated with that of the Registrar under Section 7 of the Registration Act and the *ex-officio* Sub-Registrar at Dumka has been authorised to perform all the duties of the Registrar with the exception of those laid down in sections 68 and 72. The above officers are under the control and supervision of the Deputy Commissioner who is the *ex-officio* District Registrar. The average number of documents registered annually during the quinquennium ending 1935 was 4,879 as against 6,046 in the preceding 5 years and 6,976 in the quinquennium ending 1904. The decrease of over 20 per cent is due to continued economic depression since October 1930. It may be noted here that the ryoti lands are not saleable in this district except in certain villages in Tappa Muhammadabad in the *khas* villages in *pargana* Sultanabad

and Ambar and in *khas* villages of *parganas* Kankjole. The decrease is noticeable under mortgages, leases and bonds.

The table below shows the number of documents registered and receipts and expenditure of each office in 1935.

Name of office.			Document registered.	Receipts.	Expenditure.
				Rs.	Rs.
Dumka	..	..	687	2,793	2,017
Rajmahal	..	..	1,613	3,206	2,994
Pakaur	..	..	1,299	2,231	2,112
Deoghar	..	..	555	2,576	568
Godda	..	..	138	531	577
Jamtara	..	..	137	608	721

CHAPTER XIV.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The Local Self-Government Act is not in force in this district and the Bengal Cess Act IX of 1880 having not been extended till the year 1901 the work of construction and repairs of roads and buildings were being carried out under the direct control of the Deputy Commissioner through his Road Fund Accounts Department. The income of this fund only consisted of annual and specific grants from Government. This Department was also administering the Government estates improvement grant. In 1878-79, the annual Government grant amounted to Rs. 25,000. From 1884-85 to 1890-91, it amounted to Rs. 34,000 a year. In 1899-1900, the receipts of District Road Fund on account of Government grant amounted to Rs. 74,453 as below :—

	Rs.
(1) Annual grants for road works during 1899-1900	50,000
(2) Grant for repairs in connection with Government buildings ...	6,461
(3) Special grant to meet the pay and allowance of a sub-overseer to look after Public Works Department works for the year 1899-1900	600
(4) Grants for miscellaneous public improvements in Government estates	17,392
Total	<u>74,453</u>

In 1899, the Government of Bengal in their letter no. 4805-R.P., dated the 22nd August 1899 approved the proposal made by the Board of Revenue that the provisions of the Bengal Cess Act IX of 1880 should be gradually introduced in the district excluding the Damin-i-koh Government Estates as portions of the district came under settlement, and requested the Board to arrange for the submission

to Government, lists of estates, as they came under settlement so that necessary notifications might be published extending the provisions of the Act to those estates, with effect from the date of resettlement. The first notification issued was notification no. 4489-R.P., dated the 20th August 1901 subsequently superseded by notification no. 4782-R.P., dated the 21st November 1903 and 82 revenue-paying estates including 37 separate accounts and 7 revenue-free properties were assessed to cesses, with effect from 1st April 1902. A District Committee was formed under Chapter IX of the Cess Act consisting of 12 members (3 *ex-officio* and 9 non-official members) with the Deputy Commissioner as the Chairman and this body took charge of the Deputy Commissioner's Road Fund Account Department. Subsequently under notification no. 548-T.F., dated the 19th May 1904 the Cess Act was extended to mauza Palasbona, subdivision Rajmahal appertaining to tauzi no. 178 of the Murshidabad Collectorate and under notification no. 998-R.P., dated the 14th February 1905 the Act was extended to mauza Kadamisair, subdivision Pakaur appertaining to tauzi no. 367 of the Murshidabad Collectorate. Then under notification no. 480-R.P., dated the 25th October 1905, the provisions of the Cess Act were extended, with effect from the 1st November 1905 to all parts of the district (excluding the Damin-i-koh Government estates) to which they had not already been extended by the notifications referred to above.

The valuation of all the estates in the district (excluding the Damin-i-koh Government estates) was completed in March 1910 with a resultant demand of cess on land amounting to Rs. 87,863. The revaluation operation was postponed till the last revision settlement operations of 1922-35 and was taken up in 1927-28. The revaluation of whole of the district with the exception of only 18 estates was completed during the years 1927-28 to 1935-36 and the resultant demand on account of cess at the maximum rate of 1 anna on each rupee of annual value of lands amounted to Rs. 1,15,842-2-6 on the 1st April 1936. It will increase still further on the completion of the revaluation of the remaining 18 estates. Cess is also assessed under Chapter V on the annual net profits of mines and quarries, etc., and the demand on this account in 1935-36 was Rs. 9,470. The collection of Cess is made through the Tauzi and Certificate Departments of the Deputy Commissioner's office. Deducting Rs. 146 a month on account of collection charges and Rs. 20 a year for contingencies the

whole of cess collections goes to the District Committee. The total amount placed at the disposal of the District Committee on account of Cess receipts during the year 1935-36 was Rs. 1,55,232. The following Government grants for improvement and education in the Government estates are also placed at the disposal of the committee :—

- (1) Annual grant for the improvement of Government estates calculated at 5 per cent on the receipt of all Government estates based on the actual receipts of the penultimate year;
- (2) A grant representing the surplus profits of the Hiranpur and Sahibgunj cattle markets based on the actual receipts and expenditure of the penultimate year for expenditure on the construction and upkeep of the roads, bridges and such other projects within and for the benefit of the markets and the surrounding Government estates according to the discretion of the Commissioner (Bengal Government Orders no. 3713-I.R., dated the 2nd December 1909 and 4030, dated the 18th December 1909) ;
- (3) $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent grant on communication sanctioned in paragraph 4 of Bihar and Orissa Government Resolution no. 7315-IG-84, dated the 26th October 1915 as amended by notification no. 436-IG-10-R., dated the 19th January 1918 ;
- (4) Grant of Rs. 18,000 a year sanctioned in Government letter no. 233-E., dated the 7th November 1919 for primary education in the Damin-i-koh Government estates for disbursement under orders of the Deputy Commissioner; and
- (5) 1 per cent grant for primary education in the Damin-i-koh Government estates sanctioned in Government letter no. 149-E., dated the 13th January 1921. This grant is contributed by Government in its capacity as zamindar and is required to be spent under the personal orders of the Deputy Commissioner.

Besides the District Committee gets the following annual recurring grants :—

- (1) Rs. 50,000 from the Commissioner for augmenting the resources of the District Fund for the improvement and development of communications;

- (2) Rs. 21,600 from the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals for medical relief in rural areas and for maintenance of several dispensaries constructed during the years 1924—26 out of the Government grant of Rs. 1,06,742;
- (3) Rs. 18,600 for middle schools in the district.
- (4) Government grant for expansion and improvement of primary education in the district, representing an allotment roughly based on $1\frac{1}{2}$ anna per head of population or Re. 1 per ten persons, the District Committee contributing $\frac{1}{2}$ anna per head of population or 5 per cent of the cess. The grant annually received on this account including the grant of Rs. 18,000 for Damin-i-koh Government estates is Rs. 2,22,000.
- (5) Receipts from public ferries—
(Under letter no. 3679-L.S.-G., dated the 26th March 1924, from Government in the Ministry of Local Self-Government these receipts are transferred to the District Committee, with effect from the 1st April 1924 but the management of the ferries vests in the Deputy Commissioner who conducts the settlement of the ferries and makes over the proceeds to the District Committee, and
- (6) Government Road maintenance grant out of the net proceeds of the taxes on motor vehicles.

The total receipts of the District Committee from all sources during the year 1935-36 was Rs. 5,62,615 and the expenditure Rs. 5,43,871.

MUNICIPALITIES.

There are 4 municipalities in the district, viz., Deoghar, Madhupur, Sahibgunj and Dumka.

Deoghar.

The Deoghar municipality was constituted in 1869. The boundaries of the municipality were revised under Bengal Government notification no. 853-M., dated the 23rd February 1903 by the inclusion of an area contiguous to the municipality and situated all round it. The area of the municipality is $3\frac{3}{4}$ square miles and the population according to the 1931 census is 14,217. Under Bihar and Orissa Government notification no. 4043-L.S.-G., dated the 9th April 1923 the number of Commissioners was fixed at 15 of whom, 12 should

be elected by the tax-payers and 3 appointed by local Government. Under notification no. 4044 of the same date, the municipality was divided into 4 wards, the number of Commissioners for each ward being as below :—

Ward I	...	...	...	4
Ward II	...	...	...	3
Ward III	...	...	...	3
and Ward IV	...	...	...	2

The mode of assessment in vogue in this municipality is—

(1) Holding tax at seven per cent in Wards I, II, III and IV.

and (2) Latrine tax at 5 per cent on the annual value of holdings containing dwelling houses.

The number of rate-payers in 1935-36 was 2,025 against only 951 in 1907-08. The taxation in 1935-36 amounted to Rs. 42,290 as below :—

			Rs.
Tax on holding	...	...	14,605
Tax on persons	...	...	7,271
Tax on vehicles, horses and other animals	...	...	104
Latrine Tax	...	...	20,310
Total			42,290

This incidence of taxation per head of population was Rs. 2-15-7 in 1935-36 against Rs. 1-12-1 in 1937-38. The income of the municipality in 1935-36 was Rs. 57,587 and the expenditure Rs. 46,541. The closing balance at the end of 1935-36 was Rs. 35,547.

Sahibganj was created a second class municipality, with Sahibganj. effect from the 1st April 1883 under Act V (B.C.) of 1876 by Bengal Government notification, dated the 21st March 1883. The boundaries of the municipality are given in the notice, published at page 1049, Part I of the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 27th December 1882. It was created a municipality under Act III (B.C.) of 1884, with effect from the 1st August 1884 by notification, dated the 31st March 1885. The area of the municipality is $1\frac{3}{4}$ square miles and population 15,883.

The Bihar and Orissa Act VII of 1922 came into force, with effect from 1st January 1923. Under notification no. 4223-L.S.-G., dated the 16th April 1923 the number of commissioners was fixed at ten, of whom eight should be elected by the rate-payers and two appointed by the local Government and under notification no. 4224-L.S.-G., of the same date, the municipality was divided into 6 wards, wards I and VI having 2 commissioners each. Holding tax is in force here and the rate is $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. There are 2,393 holdings in this municipality. The taxation in 1935-36 amounted to Rs. 28,600 as below :—

	Rs.
Tax on holding	20,314
Tax on vehicles, horses and other animals	335
Latrine tax	7,951
	<hr/>
Total	28,600
	<hr/>

The incidence of taxation per head of population was Rs. 1-12-9 against Rs. 2-3-6 in 1907-08. The average annual income during the past 3 years ending 1935-36 was Rs. 42,040 and the expenditure Rs. 48,298. The closing balance of the municipality at the end of 1935-36 was Rs. 7,787 of which Rs. 3,330 represented balance of the latrine fund.

Dumka.

Act III (B.C.) of 1884 (since replaced by Bihar and Orissa Act VII of 1922, with effect from 1st January 1923) was extended to Dumka town under Bengal Government notification no. 2809, dated the 15th November 1902 and the number of commissioners was fixed at 9. Under Bihar and Orissa Government notification no. 8432-M., dated the 31st July 1913, the municipality was, for the purpose of the election of commissioners, divided into 7 wards. The total number of commissioners was altered to 12 under notification no. 8433-M., dated the 31st July 1913. Under Bihar and Orissa Government notification no. 1199-M., dated the 8th February 1919, the boundaries of municipality were extended by the inclusion of an area contiguous to it and comprising portions of villages Rasikpur, Dumka, Gidhnipahari and Bandarjori. The boundaries of Wards II, V and VII were revised under notification no. 1208-M., dated the 11th July 1919, the Rasikpur portions being included in Ward no. II

and the other portion in Wards V and VII. Under notification no. 4387-L.S.-G., dated the 16th April 1923 the number of commissioners was fixed at 15 of whom 12 should be elected by the tax-payers and three appointed by local Government. Under notification no. 4388-L.S.-G., dated the 16th April 1923, the municipality was divided into 8 Wards (the northern portion of Rasikpur being numbered Ward no. VIII) Wards I, III, IV and VIII having two commissioners each, and other wards one commissioner each. The area of the municipality is 1 square mile and 525 acres with a population of 9,471 according to the 1931 Census. The number of rate-payers in 1935-36 was 1,706. The mode of assessment in vogue is (1) holding tax at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and (2) latrine tax at 3 per cent on the annual value of holdings. The taxation in 1935-36 amounted to Rs. 14,796, viz.,—

	Rs.
Tax on holdings	10,982
Tax on vehicles, horses and other animals	21
Latrine tax	3,793
Total	14,796

The incidence of taxation per head of population was Rs. 1-8-11 in 1935-36. The income of the municipality in 1935-36 was Rs. 23,647 and the expenditure Rs. 22,875. The closing balance at the end of 1935-36 was only Rs. 2,213.

The municipality of Madhupur was constituted by Bengal Government notification no. 676-M., of the 3rd April 1909, but the provision of Act III of 1884 (The Bengal Municipal Act), since replaced on the 1st of April 1923, by the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act VII of 1922, actually came into operation, with effect from 1st July 1909. The municipality has a population of 8,965 persons and includes the following villages:—Paniakola, Patharchapti, Sheikpure, Bherowa, Lakhna. Sapaha, Titiaban and Madhupur (Khas). The municipality was included in both the first and the second Schedules of Act III (B.C.) of 1884 and the number of commissioners was fixed at 10 by Bihar and Orissa Government notification no. 860, dated the 24th January 1919; it was removed from the second Schedule and the privilege of electing Chairman was thus extended to it. Under Bihar and Orissa Government notification no. 8158-L.S.-G..

dated the 3rd September 1923 the number of commissioners was fixed at 12 of which 10 are to be elected by the tax-payers and two appointed by local Government. By notification no. 8159-L.S.-G., dated the 3rd September 1923 as amended by notification no. 8639, dated the 20th September 1923, the municipality was divided into 6 Wards, the number of commissioners in each ward being as below :—

Ward no. I	...	...	...	2
Ward no. II	...	...	...	2
Ward no. III	...	...	...	Nil.
Ward no. IV	...	...	...	3
Ward no. V	...	...	...	2
Ward no. VI	...	...	...	1

In Ward III, the Railway Ward, there is no election, and an employee of the East Indian Railway is nominated by Government. Holding tax at the rate of 7 per cent and latrine tax at 4 per cent is levied in all the wards except in Ward no. III. For this ward (ward III), the Railway administration contribute Rs. 1,800 a year towards the holding tax and pay no latrine tax as they do their own conservancy. The total number of rate-payers in 1935-36 was 1,325 and the taxation amounted to Rs. 25,420 as below :—

			Rs.
Tax on holdings	...	...	16,772
Tax on vehicles, horses and other animals	...	...	37
Latrine tax	...	...	8,611
Total	...	...	<u>25,420</u>

The incidence of taxation per head of population was Rs. 2-13-4. The total income of the municipality in 1935-36 amounted to Rs. 34,580 and the expenditure to Rs. 30,368. The closing balance at the end of 1935-36 was Rs. 17,719.

CHAPTER XV.

EDUCATION.

THE figures in the marginal table will sufficiently illustrate the progress made in education since 1873, when a definite system of vernacular education was first introduced. In comparison with the other three districts in the Bhagalpur Division, Santal Parganas is still backward in respect of literacy, but gradual progress of the people in this direction is evident from the fact that in 1901, 2.5 per cent of the population was literate, while in 1931, 2.9 per cent was literate (males 5.3, females .5). The aboriginal people of the district are no longer apathetic towards education. They now show a positive liking for it.			PROGRESS OF EDUCATION.
Year.	Schools.	Scholars.	
1873	... 116	1,169	
1891	... 881	18,164	
1901	... 1,002	22,755	
1908	... 1,030	27,326	
1936	... 1,364	55,193	

Of the 1,364 schools shown in the above table, 1,228 are public institutions, 5 being under the management of Government and 16 under the management of the 4 municipalities in the district. 1,084 schools are aided by Government and the local bodies and 123 are unaided institutions. They include 10 High English schools, 27 Middle English schools, 3 Middle Vernacular schools, 1,171 Primary schools, 7 training schools, 2 technical and industrial schools, 1 agricultural school, 3 *madrasas* and 4 Sanskrit *tols*. There are also 136 private institutions, some of which do not comply with the departmental standard. Out of the 1,171 Primary schools, 91 are *maktabs*, or primary Urdu schools and 12 are Sanskrit *pathshalas* or primary Sanskrit schools. Out of 136 unrecognised private schools, 16 are Primary Urdu schools, and 1 is a Primary Sanskrit school. That figure also includes a school at Sater near Deoghar belonging to the Aryasamajists and a school at Deoghar belonging to the Ram Krishna Mission, and a National school called Tilak Vidyalaya at Madhupur. The rest are ordinary primary schools mainly teaching the 3 R's. The number of pupils on the roll of the

unrecognised (private) institutions was 4,101 and that of the public or recognised schools was 51,092 on the 31st March 1936.

**INSPECTING
STAFF.**

The inspecting staff consists of a District Inspector of schools in the Bihar Educational Service for the district as a whole, being also in charge of the Sadr and Pakaur subdivisions in particular, 2 Deputy Inspectors of schools in the Upper Division of the Subordinate Educational Service—one for Deoghar and Jamtara and the other for Godda and Rajmahal subdivisions, 9 non-Santal Sub-Inspectors of schools in the Lower Division of the Subordinate Educational Service, 6 Santal Sub-Inspectors of schools and 1 Inspecting Maulavi for the whole district on special scales of pay. There is also a Special Deputy Inspector of schools in the Lower Division of the Subordinate Educational Service.

**SECONDARY
SCHOOLS.**

There are 10 High schools of which only one, namely, the Dumka Zila school with 441 scholars on the roll is managed by Government. Of the other 9 schools, one is a Government aided Girls' High school with 95 pupils on its roll at Deoghar managed by the Church Missionary Society and 8 are Government aided boys' High schools of which 5 are situated at the five outlying subdivisional headquarters, one is at Sahibganj in Rajmahal subdivision, one at Madhupur in Deoghar subdivision and one at village Amjora in the Sadr subdivision. The 8 aided High schools for boys had altogether 1,853 pupils on the roll on 31st March 1936. There are also 27 Middle English schools, 3 of which are aided by Government and 21 by the District Committee and 3 are unaided with altogether 3,344 scholars on the roll. There was only one Middle Vernacular school for boys with 77 pupils on the roll on 31st March 1936 which however was raised to Middle English status with effect from the 1st April, 1936. The two other Middle Vernacular schools which are still in existence are meant for the girls—the statistics whereof are given in the paragraph for girls' schools.

**PRIMARY
SCHOOLS.**

There were 1,109 Primary schools for boys and 62 Primary schools for girls attended by 41,988 and 2,289 pupils, respectively, on 31st March 1936. Of the former, 152 were Upper Primary schools with 10,717 pupils and 957 Lower Primary schools with 31,271 pupils. The number of Night schools which had risen very high several years back came down to 11 only with 313 pupils as these schools again fell into disfavour.

Altogether 71 girls' schools were in existence on 31st March 1936, *viz.*, 1 High school at Deoghar—managed by the Church Missionary Society, 2 Middle English schools at Pakaur managed also by the mission authorities, 2 Middle Vernacular schools at Maharo and Dharampur also managed by the missionaries, 10 Upper Primary schools and 52 Lower Primary schools. There were also 2 training schools for girls attached to Deoghar High and Maharo Middle Vernacular schools, and 1 Industrial and 1 Agricultural school at Pathra which were also managed by the mission authorities. The roll numbers of the above schools are noted on the margin. The

Schools.	Pupils.	total number of attendance in Girls' schools was 2,674. Out of 3,522 pupils reading in these schools for girls, as many as 3,166 were girls. Besides these 2,924 girls are reading in schools for boys, so that the total number of girls under instruction was 6,090 or 0.59 per cent of the female population of the district.
1 Girls High	95	
2 „ Middle English	397	
2 „ Middle Vernacular.	400	
10 „ Upper Primary	715	
52 „ Lower Primary.	1,574	
2 „ Training ...	31	
1 „ Industrial ...	33	
1 „ Agricultural ...	52	

In 1935-36, there were altogether 5 elementary Training schools for males and 2 training classes for females. Of the former, 4 were managed by Government and the other managed by the missionaries at Kaerabani. The two training classes for females were attached to Deoghar C. M. S. High school for girls and Maharo Middle Vernacular school for girls. These are managed by the missionaries with an aid from Government for each. One Government managed Elementary Training school, *viz.*, the one at Taljhari and the Mission Elementary school at Kaerabani are entirely meant for Santal male teachers. The training class at Maharo is entirely meant for the training of Santal female teachers. The class at Deoghar also is practically peopled by Santal female teachers. There are 3 *madrasas* at Madhupur, Gurgawan and Radipur—all aided by Government, and 4 Sanskrit tols of which two are aided by Government. There is an Industrial school for males at Benagaria and another for girls at Pathra both being managed by the missionaries and aided by Government. There is also a Government aided Agricultural school for females attached

to Pathra girls' Upper Primary school. Other schools which come under this classification and deserve special mention are the Ram Krishna Vidyapith at Deoghar, the Arya Samajist school at Sater near Deoghar and the Tilak National Vidyalaya at Madhupur. These three are returned as unrecognised private institutions.

EDUCA-
TION OF
MUHAM-
MADANS.

The number of Muhammadans according to the census of 1931 is 2,23,707 or 10.9 per cent of the total population. The total number of Muhammadan pupils in all schools in the district on 31st March 1936 was 7,724 representing 14.0 per cent of the pupils of all creeds. The main Educational institutions for Islamic studies in the district are the three *madrassas*, one at Madhupur in the Deoghar subdivision, one at Gurgawan in the Godda subdivision and one at Radipur in the Pakaur subdivision. These are all schools aided by Government. For elementary Urdu education, there are 91 primary Urdu schools in the district; besides these, there are 16 unrecognised schools which do not conform to the departmental standard. A large number of Muhammadan pupils also read in the ordinary primary schools in which they get the same facilities for education as pupils of other creeds and the teaching of Urdu has been provided for in some ordinary primary schools where the local Muslem people desire to have Urdu education. For the encouragement of education amongst them a sufficient number of Lower Primary and Upper Primary scholarships are reserved for the Muslim pupils, over and above the general scholarships for which they can compete along with the pupils of other creeds.

EDUCA-
TION OF
ABORIGI-
NALS.

The number of aboriginals under instruction on 31st March 1936 was 16,121 of whom 3,062 were Christians. The number of all kinds of schools specially meant for the aboriginal races was 449 with 15,806 pupils on the roll. Of these, 3, viz., those at Pathra, Taljhari and Kaerabani, are Middle English schools for males, 2 at Maharo and Dharampur are Middle Vernacular schools for girls and 1 at Pakaur is Middle English school for girls. The three boys' Middle English schools are aided by the District Committee of the Santal Parganas and the Middle Vernacular and Middle English schools are aided by Government. The training schools at Taljhari and Kaerabani are specially meant for Santal teachers. The former is managed by Government. Of the two Government aided training classes for women at Deoghar and Maharo, the one at Maharo is specially and the

one at Deoghar is chiefly meant for the aboriginal female teachers. The Industrial school for males at Benagaria and the Lace school for women at Pathra and the Agricultural school for women at Pathra are also meant for the aborigines. The remaining are all Primary schools. 2 Middle, 2 Upper Primary and 18 Lower Primary scholarships are reserved for the benefit of the aboriginal pupils. The Special Inspecting staff for the inspection of schools for aborigines consists of one Special Deputy Inspector and 6 Sub-Inspectors of schools—all belonging to the aboriginal tribes. The work which is being done by the Missionaries in connection with the education of the aborigines in the district is praiseworthy. They possess some of the best Middle and Primary schools both for aboriginal boys and girls and have created a written Santali language and published many books suitable for use in Primary schools. Education is spreading very rapidly amongst the Santals and they are being appointed as Sub-Deputy Collectors, Kanungoes, Assistant teachers of Government High schools, Sub-Inspectors of Police, Excise and Education and in other posts.

There were 24 Primary schools with 694 pupils on the 31st March 1936, specially meant for these classes. There were also 1,771 more pupils belonging to these classes in the ordinary schools in the district. The District Committee, Santal Parganas, make special provision for the opening of more special schools for these classes and also for paying capitation allowances to the teachers in ordinary primary schools teaching pupils of these classes. Two Lower Primary scholarships have at present been reserved for them.

EDUCA-
TION OF
THE DEP-
RESSED
CLASSES.

CHAPTER XVI.

GAZETTEER.

Ambar.—A *pargana* in the north-east of the Pakaur subdivision. The estate comprising this *pargana* has long been held by a family of Kanauj, Brahmans, whose tradition of origin is as follows. It is said that during the reign of Akbar a pestilence broke out in Kanauj, and a number of its inhabitants, both Hindus and Muhammadans, migrated to this part of the country, which was then covered with dense forest, and brought it under cultivation. When Raja Pratapaditya of the Sundarbans rose in rebellion, and Man Singh was sent against him in command of the imperial troops, one of the ancestors of the present proprietors assisted Man Singh with a body of aborigines. As a reward for his services he was given a grant of this *pargana* in *jagir*, and the tract was called Ambar after the province of Ambar in Rajputana, the home of Man Singh. The *pargana* originally stretched across the Rajmahal Hills, and its Rajas were the overlords of the Maler of Saurpal or Sumarpal. The latter tract in course of time became a separate *tappa* and was included by Cleveland in the Damin-i-koh; while the plains portion of the estate, which retained the name of Ambar and was in possession of the Brahman proprietors, was transferred at Cleveland's instance from the Rajshahi district to Bhagalpur in 1781. At the time of Buchanan Hamilton (1809) the estate was held by Prithi Chand Sahi, who is still remembered as a Sanskrit scholar, poet, essayist and builder of temples. It was during his time (in 1793) that the permanent settlement of Ambar was concluded. He was succeeded in 1834 by his son Raja Ram Chandra who was renowned for his charity. Ram Chandra died in 1845 and was succeeded by his minor son Krista Chandra Sahi, who lived for 2 years only. Ram Chandra's widow Rani Khema Sundaru Devi then succeeded and held it till her death in 1895. The estate was managed by her son-in-law Babu Gopi Lal Pande, who established the Pakaur school and a charitable dispensary. His second son Sitesh Chandra Pande succeeded the Rani in 1895. His first and third sons Taresh Chandra and Kulesh Chandra had died before

the Rani, Taresh leaving behind two sons Satyendra and Pratapendra and Kulesh one son Ganendra. Sitesh Chandra Pande had the title of Raja conferred on him in 1891 in recognition of his liberality and charity. He died in 1900 and was succeeded by his son Kumar Kalidas Pande during whose minority the estate was under the management of the Court of Wards from 20th January 1902 to 13th December 1915. He died in 1920 and was succeeded by his widow Srimati Jyotirmoyee Debi who is the present proprietress of the estate.

Raja Sitesh Chandra made provision for his three nephews Satyendra, Pratapendra and Ganendra by granting Patni tenures yielding an annual income of Rs. 20,000 to each. Satyendra died leaving a childless widow and Pratapendra died in 1929 leaving two sons Binoyendra and Amarendra, Amarendra was murdered through injection of plague Bacilli at the instance of Binoyendra who has been convicted for the offence and sentenced to transportation for life.

Barkop.—A *tappa* in the Godda subdivision, with an area of about 20 square miles, situated between *pargana* Godda on the south and *tappa* Patsunda on the north. It is said to have derived its name from an old village of the same name containing twelve ancient wells (*barah-kup*). According to local tradition, the estate was formerly held by Nat Rajas, but during the reign of Akbar came into the possession of a Khetauri family. The head of the family was one Deb Barm, a Khetauri chief of Kharagpur (in Monghyr), who, being driven out of that tract by Rajput invaders, settled in Patsunda, having obtained a grant of Patsunda and Barkop from the Mughal Viceroy. In 1687 the estate was divided between two of his descendants, Mani Barm retaining Barkop, while Patsunda was handed over to his younger brother, Chandra Barm. The proprietor at the time of the Permanent Settlement was one Ujit Barm, who died without male issue in 1835, leaving two widows, Lilabati and Bhulanbati. After the death of Lilabati, Bhulanbati adopted Chandra Dayal Barm, of the Patsunda family, in 1875. She died shortly afterwards, and the estate came under the Court of Wards. The validity of the adoption was disputed by the sons of Lilabati's daughter, who had married into the Handwe family. A compromise was effected by Mr. Barlow, the Commissioner, according to which the proprietary right was split up among the rival claimants. The estate was encumbered with debts

and 12 annas 7 gandas 2 karas interest of the estate has passed into the hands of purchasers, the balance 3 annas 12 gandas 2 karas now remains with the original proprietors BaBu Sashi Bhusan Singh and others.

There are a few places of interest in the estate which may suitably be mentioned here. In the village of Bastara there is a large tank, said to date from time immemorial. It is held sacred by Hindus, who come in large numbers to bathe in it during the Sankranti festival of Chait, the festival being the occasion for a fair. A legend connected with the tank is that formerly people requiring cooking or other utensils for marriages or other social ceremonies had only to ask for them and they appeared miraculously from the waters of the tank. They were bound to return them to the tank when they were no longer wanted, and he who did not do so was visited by some calamity or misfortune. In course of time the people, growing dishonest, did not give back the articles they had borrowed, and the supply stopped for ever. It is also believed that no one has ever been able to cross the tank from one end to another whether by swimming, on an elephant or in a boat; if any one ventured to make the attempt he would find mysterious chains encircling his feet and dragging him down to a watery grave. This property the tank is believed to retain even now, and nobody ever thinks of crossing it. At Kurma there is an old building which is said to have been built by the Viceroy Shah Shuja, a brother of Aurangzeb, as a *shikargah* or hunting lodge, and at Bodra, about 4 miles from Barkop, there is an old stone temple dedicated to Mahadeva. Shalput, 6 miles north of Barkop, contains the *dargah* or tomb of Pir Sagona Shah, who is regarded by the Muhammadans of the locality as a great saint. He is said to have performed his devotions on the top of Saurari hill, where some ruins mark his retreat. Within the premises of the house occupied by the descendants of Raja Ajit Barm there is an old building, said to have belonged to the Nat Rajas, one room in which is believed to be haunted and is not used by the present owners. At Kapaita, 6 miles from Barkop, there are the ruins of another building, which is said to have belonged to one of the same Rajas.

Belpatta.—A *tappa* in the south of the Dumka subdivision. This *tappa* formerly was held by the Rajas of Birbhum, but was transferred to Bhagalpur in 1781 on the recommendation

of Cleveland, who brought it under the hill system. It is now broken up into numerous estates, and has passed into the hands of purchasers who have nothing to do with the original family of proprietors. It includes three *taluks*, viz., Uparbahal, Sapchala and Amgachi.

Damin-i-koh.—A Government estate in the north-east of the district extending over 1,338 square miles and including portions of the Rajmahal, Pakaur, Godda and Dumka subdivisions. The name is a Persian one, meaning the skirts of the hills, but the estate comprises not only, as might be supposed from the name, the country lying at the foot or on the slopes of the Rajmahal Hills, but almost the whole range between the Ganges on the north and the Brahmani river on the south. The tract it covers consists of hills surrounded by flat country, with fertile valleys lying, in some instances, between parallel ranges. The average altitude is from 200 to 1,500 feet, and on the tops of the hills, especially towards the south, there are extensive tablelands suitable for plough cultivation. The valleys lying at the foot of the hills are well-watered by streams, and are cultivated and inhabited for the most part by Santals. The latter are comparatively recent immigrants, the Damin-i-koh having been formerly inhabited only by the Paharias, who were chiefly known and feared as freebooters and cattle-lifters. The Muhammadan rulers seem to have made no attempt to subjugate and civilize these caterans, and beyond granting *jagirs* or *ghatwalis* to the zamindars of the neighbouring tracts, in order that they might entertain a militia to keep the hillmen within bounds, they seem to have left them alone.

After the disruption of the Mughal Government the raids of the Paharias increased to such an extent that the zamindars of the neighbouring tracts were unable to keep them in check. In 1772 a corps of light infantry was raised by the British Government to check their raids, this corps being placed under the command of Captain Brooke, who was succeeded by Captain Browne in 1774. Both these officers led successful expeditions through the Damin-i-koh, and the latter devised a scheme of police posts at important points for the pacification of the hillmen. It was left, however, to Augustus Cleveland, who became Collector of Bhagalpur in 1779, to bring the hillmen really under subjection. Seeing that the police posts were insufficient, many of them having

been abandoned he took steps to re-establish them and to complete the *chaukibandi* or line of posts round the hills. He also realized that if the Paharias were really to be pacified they must be conciliated. With this object he proposed to pay 26 Paharia chiefs monthly stipends of Rs. 10 each and 58 deputy chiefs Rs. 5 each in consideration of their performing the duties of police in the hills and preventing incursions into the plains. Government agreed to this proposal and also sanctioned, in 1781, a scheme put forward by Cleveland for raising a corps of archers which would preserve the peace in the hills and punish marauders. Notwithstanding the raising of this corps, the stipends continued to be paid to the chiefs and deputies, as well as a stipend of Rs. 2 per mensem to the headmen of each hill that supplied a man to the corps. Cleveland also had the hill people removed from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts; and, by a special order of Government, a council of hill chiefs, presided over by Cleveland himself, tried all cases in which the hillmen were concerned. This system proved successful, crimes of violence being reduced to a minimum; but after Cleveland's death in 1784, the administration of his system was practically left in the hands of a corrupt native officer, Abdul Rasul Khan, who was known as the *Sazawal* of the hills.

At this time there was a broad belt of country at the base of the hills, devoid of cultivation and covered with forest. When Cleveland removed the hill area from the ordinary jurisdiction, he also removed from the jurisdiction of the zamindars this tract of forest, which he named the *Damin-i-koh* or skirts of the hills. He held that it was the property of the hillmen, and it was a part of his scheme to induce them to leave their hills, and establish themselves in the plains, by assigning to them freehold grants of land on condition that they cleared and cultivated them on long leases. The area that he proposed to allot for cultivation was not demarcated, but was roughly taken to be all the forest and waste land at the foot of the hills. The Paharias, however, failed to cultivate the area set apart for them and allowed the Santals to enter upon their reservation, cut down the forests and bring the land under the plough.

In 1818 Mr. Sutherland, Joint Magistrate of Bhagalpur, was deputed to make an enquiry regarding the administration of the hills and the lands adjoining them. He recommended

in 1819 that Government should declare its exclusive rights as proprietor of the hills generally occupied by the hill people, and also of the country at the foot of the hills which was not held by zamindars. Government accepted his recommendation, and in a resolution, dated the 17th July 1823, declared that the hill people had become the direct ryots of Government and that all the rights that might at any previous time have attached to the zamindars and others over the hills and contiguous tracts of land occupied by the Paharias must be regarded as having ceased. It held that the settlement of this point was merely of importance as clearing the way to a proper understanding of the question to whom the adjacent forests were to be assigned. In other respects it was of little moment, as "Government can have no desire to interfere with the existing possessions of the hill people in the mountains or to assert any right incompatible with their free enjoyment of all which their labour can obtain from that sterile soil."

The resolution went on as follows:—"There seems from what is stated by Mr. Sutherland to be abundant reason to conclude that, on introducing the system adopted in 1780 for the pacification of the hills, it was the intention of Government to take both the hills and adjacent forests into its own direct management. The reason was:—(1) The *sazawal* was always designated *Sazawal* of the hills and of the *Damin-i-koh* or skirts of the hills. (2) Both Captain Browne and Mr. Cleveland made many appropriations of lands in the forests and skirts of the hills as well to *ghatwals* and invalids as to different persons willing to clear and cultivate them, and this they did without reference to the claims of the adjoining Rajas and zamindars. (3) It was a part of the projected system to settle the hillmen in the forest and thus to promote both their civilization and their improvement of the country at the same time. This plan was specially submitted to and approved by Government, which sufficiently proves that the forests were considered to be exclusively at its disposal. (4) The *sanads* granted to the *ghatwals* have a clause authorizing them to assign land in the forest to any hill people who might be desirous of settling them without any advertence to the consent of the zamindar. (5) The zamindars have no title to urge to the *Damin-i-koh* that would not, if admitted, include the hills also, for the two do not appear to have been ever separated before. Hence, at the pacification of the hills was made by resuming their interests

and excluding their influence from the tract, it would seem naturally to follow that their seignorial rights over both were annulled at the same time."

The result of this resolution was that in 1824 Mr. J. P. Ward was directed to assert the right of Government to the hilly tract, or Damin-i-koh, on the exterior range, to define the extent of it, and to lay down such permanent boundary marks as might allow of it, being easily retraced. He was also required to report, after consulting with the Magistrate, whether it would be advisable to assign the tract, when defined, to the hill people in *jagir* tenure or to dispose of it in any other mode. In compliance with these orders Mr. Ward made a demarcation of the Damin-i-koh between 1824 and 1833, and erected masonry pillars in a ring-fence round the outer margin of the hills which hem in the Damin-i-koh. This boundary is practically that which exists at the present day. The demarcation was carried out with the express object of reserving the Damin-i-koh for the Paharias alone, and granting its fertile valleys as lands to be cultivated by them and their descendants free of rent for ever. In the course of his demarcation Mr. Ward made two discoveries. He found that the Paharias would not come down from their hills, as was expected, nor engage in tillage; while on the borders, and even inside the demarcated tract, he found a tribe of immigrants newly come from Singbhum, whom he called Sontars, and who were clearing the forests and reclaiming the waste lands. In many cases the hill *sardars* were taking rent from them for their newly settled villages; and in reporting the fact to the Board of Revenue Mr. Ward asked how these usurpations were to be dealt with. He also proposed to introduce the Santals into the Damin-i-koh as there was no prospect of the hillmen ever undertaking its cultivation, and the Santals were "an industrious race of people, who require only good treatment to make them useful and profitable ryots."

The Board of Revenue answered this reference by desiring Mr. Ward to resume the settlements usurped by the hillmen and forwarded his proposal to form Santal settlements to the Government, with a strong recommendation that it should be sanctioned. The Government, however, true to the traditional policy of reserving this tract for the hillmen, refused to accede to it and were in favour of assigning the Paharias one-half of the cultivated land included

within the demarcated line, under free-hold grants, on condition that they cultivated it within a specified period. The areas of the grants were to be graduated according to the rank of the grantee, *e.g.*, *sardar*, *naib*, or simple *manjhi*. A large number of such grants were made by Mr. Ward and subsequently by Mr. Pontel, who was appointed Superintendent of the Damin-i-koh in 1837. A very few of these grants still exist; the remainder were speedily forfeited, as the grantees either made no attempts to clear them or at once assigned them to Santal settlers, from whom they took rents. In spite of this Government still insisted that the demarcated area should be reserved for the benefit of the hillmen, and there is no record that this prohibition was ever formally removed. In 1837, however, when Mr. Dunbar, the then Collector of Bhagalpur, after a personal conference with the Board of Revenue and with the Government, obtained sanction to the appointment of Mr. Pontet as Superintendent of the Damin-i-koh, the latter was directed, in order to make the estate productive, to give every encouragement to Santals in the work of clearing jungle.

Mr. Pontet, who is still remembered as Ponteen Saheb, remained in charge of the Damin-i-koh till after the Santal insurrection of 1855. He had his headquarters at Bhagalpur and used to tour in the estate during the cold season and collect the rents. He opened it up by means of roads, settled bazars and *hats* and established inspection bungalows; most of the existing roads in the tract follow the alignment made by him. While he was thus developing the estate the stream of Santal immigration continued. The Santals were treated for some years under the special Regulation (I of 1827) framed for the Paharias and, when its application to them was stopped, with great liberality as regards their holdings and assessments. In spite of this the Santals settled in the Damin-i-koh rose in rebellion in 1855, in order to free themselves from the oppression of their Hindustani and Bengali money-lenders and of the local police, and partly also, there is reason to believe, in order to make good their claim that what they had reclaimed belonged to themselves alone. When the rebellion was quelled, the administration of the estate was continued on the same exclusive principles, and the old restrictions which closed the hillmen's country against members of other races were enforced for the Santals. Their assessment at low rates and with favourable conditions

was continued, and under this system the Damin-i-koh has remained ever since.

Under the management of Mr. Pontet rents were assessed by a rough computation of the cultivated area known as the *rekbandi* system, and the rental of the estate rose from Rs. 2,611 in 1836-37 to Rs. 58,033 in 1854-55, owing to the immigration of Santals. The first regular settlement of the estate was made in 1857-58, when the rental was fixed at Rs. 55,050; and in 1868 another settlement was made by Mr. Blumhardt for six years (subsequently extended for five years more), which increased the demand to Rs. 1,00,165. The basis of assessment in both these settlements was the number of ploughs in each village, and it was not till the settlement made by Mr. Browne Wood, in 1878-79, that the village boundaries were surveyed by chain and compass. A lump assessment was made for the whole village and distributed by *panchayats* among the ryots, the result being to increase the revenue of the estate to Rs. 1,67,191. The term of this settlement was 10 years; but on its expiry Government decided that resettlement should be deferred, as it might unsettle the Santals without producing any large increase of revenue. A resettlement and survey were finally sanctioned in 1899 and were carried to a conclusion by Mr. H. McPherson in 1905. Altogether 1,082 square miles came under survey and settlement, and one square mile in the town of Sahibganj under survey only. The remaining 255 square miles consisted of 212 square miles of unsurveyed and unsettled Paharia country and 43 square miles previously settled in the Pakaur Damin. Of the area under settlement 375,267 acres or 55 per cent. were found to be under cultivation, as compared with 27,629 acres at the settlement of 1879. Owing to this large extension of cultivation there was a considerable increase in the assessment, the rents settled by Mr. McPherson being Rs. 2,48,858 for the first five years and Rs. 2,67,929 from the sixth year upwards, representing annas 10-9 and annas 11-6 per acre respectively. The 212 square miles of unsettled Sauria Paharia hills of Godda and Rajmahal were settled by Mr. S. S. Day in 1912-16 resulting in a net revenue to Government amounting to Rs. 6,624-1-0. During the third revision settlement of 1922-35, the whole of the Damin-i-koh (excluding the 212 acres of Sauria Paharia hills settled by Mr. Day) was resettled and the rent settled amounted to Rs. 3,80,578.

According to the census of 1901 the population of the Damin-i-koh was 358,294, of whom no less than 226,540 were Santals, and according to the 1931 census, the total population of the Damin-i-koh is 411,677 of whom 242,647 are Santals who chiefly occupy the valleys and level portions of the estate. The next most numerous race consist of the Paharias, of whom there are two branches, the Maler and the Mal Paharias. The former are found in the northern half of the estate in Rajmahal, the northern hills of Pakaur and in Godda north of the Bokrabandh Bungalow. The latter occupy the Dumka portion of the Damin-i-koh, the Bokrabandh Bungalow of Godda and South Pakaur. The Paharia villages are usually situated on the tops of the ridges, and round the homesteads are the village *bari* lands extending to the brow of the hill. This area of homestead and cultivation is cut off from the lands, which the Santals occupy, by steep declivities, on portions of which the Paharias usually practise *kura* cultivation.

The Damin-i-koh has always been regarded by Government as a reserve for the aboriginal races of the district; and the intrusion of non-aborigines or foreigners, called *Dikkus*, has always been kept within the narrowest limits. It is, therefore, laid down that foreigners must not ordinarily be permitted to hold land within the boundaries of the Damin, and any one who may be improperly admitted is liable to be evicted, unless there is good cause to the contrary. In the course of Mr. McPherson's settlement it was found that the average *Dikku* holding was 4.47 acres in extent with an average rent of Rs. 5-4, while the average non-*Dikku* holding was 6.89 acres in extent with an average rent of Rs. 4-4-9. Headmen to the number of 1,991 had holdings averaging 18 acres with a rent of Rs. 11-11; and 1,009 headmen had, in addition, official holdings averaging 3.73 acres with a rent of Rs. 3-10.

Deoghar.—Headquarters of the subdivision of the same name situated 4 miles south-east of the Jasidih Junction station on the Chord Line of the East Indian Railway, with which it is connected by a small branch line of the East Indian Railway and the Railway station at Deoghar is called "Baidyanath Dham Railway station". To the north of the town is a wood called the Data Jungle, after a *fakir* whose descendants own the land; on the north-west is a low hill called Nandan Pahar; a fine range of hills known as Tiur

or Trikutparvata lies 10 miles to the east; to the south-east, south and south-west are more hills, all within 12 miles of the town. Immediately to the west there is a small rivulet named Yamunajor, and about half a mile further west is the river Dharua, which, making a bend, runs about a mile to the south of the town. The space between Deoghar and this river belongs to the *ghatwali* estate of Rohini, the village of Rohini being situated about three miles to the west of the river. The situation of the town is picturesque, as viewed from the train as it approaches the bridge over the Dharua. In the foreground is the river, and beyond it lies the town surrounded by large trees covered with thick foliage, from the centre of which rise the pinnacles of the sacred temples of Baidyanath. In the distance lies a cluster of hills forming a back-ground of blue-green. The country around Deoghar is also picturesque, being undulating and interspersed with numerous watercourses and small hills, some of which are covered with brush-wood, while others are destitute of vegetation. The climate is dry and healthy, the soil is particularly light and porous; and there is comparatively little malarial fever, or other diseases prevalent in damp places.

The population of Deoghar, according to the census of 1901, was 8,838. According to the census of 1931, it is 14,217 but the permanent population of the town is very largely augmented by pilgrims at all times of the year, especially during the 3 important fairs, viz., (1) the Sri-panchami mela (held in January lasting for about 4 days), (2) the Shivaratri mela (held in March and lasting for nearly a week and (the Bhadra Purnima mela held in September for about 4 days). Of these, the Shivaratri mela is the biggest. It is estimated that a total of about 20,000 to 25,000 pilgrims visit the town during these fairs. For the accommodation of pilgrims there are 80 lodging houses, but many of them do not resort to them but camp out under trees or in open spaces. The pilgrims, moreover do not, as a rule, stay at Deoghar for more than 10 or 12 hours. The town contains the usual offices and buildings common in a subdivisional headquarters, a good dispensary and a leper asylum (the Raj Kumari Leper Asylum). It was constituted a municipality in 1869, and the area within municipal limits is $3\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. The place has a reputation as a sanatorium among the Indian community, and the numerous

houses springing up on its outskirts testify to its popularity among those who can afford to maintain country houses.

The real fame of Deoghar rests upon the sanctity of its temples and its importance as a place of pilgrimage.* Its renown for sanctity is testified by the thousands of pilgrims who resort to it every year, and its antiquity is carried back in some of the Puranas to the Treta Yuga or second age of the world. According to the Siva Purana, it was in the Treta Yuga that the demon Ravana, King of Lanka (Ceylon) feeling that his capital would not be perfect without the presence of Mahadeva, repaired to the Kailasa mountain and besought the god to make it his permanent home. Mahadeva did not accede to this prayer, but told Ravana that one of the twelve emblems of this divinity (*Jyotirlinga*) would be quite as effective, and that he might take it away on the condition that the transfer should be effected without a break in the journey. Should the lingam be deposited anywhere on the earth in course of the journey it would remain fixed on that spot for ever. Ravana, thereupon, took the lingam and began his journey back to Lanka.

The gods dreaded the effect of the lingam being established in the kingdom of their most powerful enemy, for if Mahadeva were to be the protector of the demon's metropolis they would have no means left to overthrow him. They accordingly sat in solemn conclave, and devised a plan for outwitting their enemy. Varuna, the regent of the waters, entered the belly of Ravana, with the result that the demon had to descend to earth to relieve himself. There Vishnu, in the garb of a decrepit old Brahman, appeared before him and began to converse with him. Unconscious of the plot that had been laid, Ravana begged the Brahman to help him by holding the sacred emblem for a few minutes, a request which was readily acceded to. Ravana then made over the lingam to him, and retired to ease himself. When he came back the Brahman had disappeared, and the lingam was lying on the ground at a considerable distance from the place where he had descended to earth. Ravana tried hard to remove the lingam from the spot where it had been placed, but without success. Growing desperate he used violence, but he only succeeded in breaking a piece off the top of the

*The subsequent account is derived almost entirely from *The Temples of Deoghar*, by Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, J. A. S. B., Part I., 1883.

lingam. Realizing his folly he prostrated himself before the lingam and begged for pardon. Further, to atone for his sacrilegious violence, he came daily to the place and worshipped the divinity with libations of sacred water brought from the source of the Ganges in the Himalayas. This latter duty was afterwards rendered unnecessary by the excavation of a well, in which the waters of all the sacred pools on the face of the earth were stored. The spot where Ravana came down to earth is identified with the present Harlajuri, about four miles north of Deoghar; the place where the lingam was deposited is now Deoghar; and the lingam itself is known as Baidyanath.

According to the Padma Purana the Brahman to whom Ravana entrusted the lingam deposited it in due form, consecrated it with water from a neighbouring tank, repeated his prayers and then departed. A Bhil who was present when this was done received instructions from the Brahman as to how the worship of the emblem should be conducted, but having no vessel at hand, brought the water required for libations in his mouth. When Ravana at last returned, the Bhil related all that had happened, and pointed out that the Brahman was no other than Vishnu himself. Ravana then excavated a well with an arrow and brought into it the waters of all sacred pools on earth for the fitting worship of the god. According to other traditions, not noticed in any Purana, the lingam lay neglected after the death of Ravana until it was noticed by a rude hunter, Baiju by name, who accepted it as his god and worshipped it daily, proclaiming it to the world as the lord of Baiju (Baidyanath). Before this occurrence the lingam was known by its original name of Jyotirlinga (the lingam of light) or by the name it derived from its transfer viz., Ravanaeswar.

Sir William Hunter in the *Annals of Rural Bengal* relates the Santal tradition of Baidyanath as follows:—"In the olden time a band of Brahmans settled on the banks of the beautiful highland lake beside which the holy city stands. Around them there was nothing but the forest and mountains, in which dwelt the black races. The Brahmans placed the symbol of their god Siva near the lake and did sacrifice to it; but the black tribes would not sacrifice to it, but came as before to the three great stones which their fathers had worshipped, and which are to be seen at the western entrance of the holy city to this day. The Brahmans,

moreover, ploughed the land, and brought water from the lake to nourish the soil; but the hillmen hunted and fished as of old, or tended their herds, while the women tilled little patches of Indian corn. But in process of time the Brahmans, finding the land good, became slothful, giving themselves up to lust and seldom calling on their god Siva. This the black tribes, who came to worship the great stones, saw and wondered at more and more, till at last one of them, by name Baiju, a man of a mighty arm and rich in all sorts of cattle, became wroth at the lies and wantonness of the Brahmans, and vowed he would beat the symbol of their god Siva with his club every day before touching food. This he did: but one morning his cattle strayed into the forest, and after seeking them all day he came home hungry and weary, and, having hastily bathed in the lake, sat down to his supper. Just as he stretched out his hand to take the food he called to mind his vow; and worn out as he was, he got up, limped painfully to the Brahmans' idol on the margin of the lake, and beat it with his club. Then suddenly a splendid form, sparkling with jewels, rose from the waters, and said:— 'Behold the man who forgets his hunger and his weariness to beat me, while my priests sleep with their concubines at home, and neither give me to eat nor to drink. Let him ask of me what he will, and it shall be given. Baiju answered: 'I am strong of arm and rich of cattle. I am a leader of my people: what want I more? Thou art called Nath (Lord). Let me too be called lord, and let thy temple go by my name!' 'Amen', replied the deity; 'henceforth thou art not Baiju, but Baijnath, and my temple shall be called by thy name.' " Romantically as this story has been narrated by the writer, it is valueless for any historical inference. It cannot be more than 300 years old, and it is probably of a much more recent date. The tomb to the north of the road, in which the mortal remains of Baiju are said to be deposited, is not more than 200 years old; and the name itself is applied in the Puranas to the lingam of Siva in distant parts of India.

Some of the Puranas ascribe the advent of Baidyanath at Deoghar to the Satya Yuga, or the first age of the world, when Sati, the wife of Siva and the daughter of Daksha, committed suicide in consequence of the discourtesy shown to her husband by Daksha. Overpowered by grief Siva, in a fit of frenzy, stuck the corpse of his wife on the point of his

trident and roamed about like a madman, till Vishnu cut up the body with his discus into 52 parts, which fell at different places in India. The heart, it is said, fell at Deoghar (Baidyanath), and hence that place attained its sanctity. There is, however, no shrine or spot at Deoghar to commemorate this occurrence as at the other 51 places. Another legend is that in the first age of the world Siva manifested himself as lingams of light at 12 different places under different names, Baidyanath being one of these 12 places. The emblem was worshipped by Sati, who appeared in the form of a pandanus flower on the top of the lingam and dwelt for a long time in a grove close by in order to worship it. Hence the place was called Ketakivana or the pandanus grove.

The temple of Baidyanath, which shelters the lingam and is dedicated to Mahadeva, stands in a stone-paved quadrangular courtyard. The east side faces the public road, and at the southern end is a large arched gateway surmounted by a *naubat-khana*. The *naubat-khana* is, however, not much used, a separate two-storied building having been provided close by for musicians. Near the north-east corner of the courtyard there is a large gateway, over which a room has been constructed by Raja Padmanand Singh of Banaili. This is the principal entrance to the temple enclosure. At the north end of the courtyard is the private residence of the *Sardar Panda* or head priest, known as the *bhitarkhanda*. The temple, which faces the east, is a plain stone structure surmounted by a pyramidal tower which rises from a square base to a height of 72 feet from the ground. On the east side of the northern verandah of the temple is a masonry vat, into which flow the water and milk used for the ablutions of the lingam. This water is regarded as very sacred, and every pilgrim is expected to taste a few drops of it and to carry some of it away in a phial. The lingam is of a cylindrical form, about 5 inches in diameter, and projects about 4 inches from the centre of a large slab of basalt. As it is fixed firmly in this slab it is not possible to ascertain how much of the lingam is buried. The top is broken and has an even surface, one side being a little higher than the other. The fracture is attributed by the Hindu legend to the assault of Ravana and by the Santal legend to that of the forester Baiju. The cell which shelters the divine emblem is very

dark, and upon entering it; after passing through the courtyard of the temple in the glare of the midday sun, the pilgrim can at first see nothing; two *ghi*-fed lamps are all that are provided to enable pilgrims to behold the manifestation of the god.

The lobby in front of the cell is, like the cell itself, paved with flags of basalt, but it contains nothing in the way of furniture or fixtures. The second porch has in front a row of pillars spanned by blocks of basalt, and on the right side there is a sandstone image of a bull, which is by some dignified with the name of Srijuta or "His Excellency." Near it there are some small bovine images, and bells hang down from the ceiling. Pilgrims entering by the front door are supposed to pull the bell-rope to announce their approach to the divinity, but in most cases the priests do this for them. The courtyard contains 11 other temples, smaller in size and of less importance than that of Baidyanath. The following is a list of all the 12 temples and of their dedicators, with the years in which they were dedicated, as ascertained by Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra :--

Name.	Dedicator.	Date.
1. Baidyanath ...	Puran Mal ...	1596
2. Lakshmi-Narayan ...	Vamadeva ...	<i>circa</i> 1630-40
3. Savitri (Tara) ...	Kshemakarna ...	1692
4. Parvati ...	Ratnapani ...	<i>circa</i> 1701-10
5. Kali ...	Jayanarayana ..	1712
6. Ganesa ...	Tikarama ...	1762
7. Surja ...	Rama Datta ...	<i>circa</i> 1782-93
8. Saraswati ...	Rama Datta ...	<i>circa</i> 1782-93
9. Ramchandra ...	Rama Datta ...	<i>circa</i> 1782-93
10. Vagala Devi ...	Rama Datta ...	<i>circa</i> 1782-93
11. Annapurna ...	Rama Datta ...	1782
12. Ananda Bhairava ...	Commenced by Ananda Datta, completed by Sarvananda.	<i>circa</i> 1810-23

The name of the temple last mentioned means the temple of Bhairava set up by Ananda, an ancestor of the present *Sardar panda*. Besides the temples mentioned by Dr. Mitra, there is a shrine of Dudhnath Mahadeva, which is presumably a later erection. It contained a silver *panchmukhi* lingam, the gift of Sailajananda Ojha, but the original lingam is said to have been stolen. The shrine of Manasa Devi, the snake goddess, in the south-western corner of the courtyard also

appears to have been built since Dr. Mitra published his account of Deoghar. All the temples are comparatively modern and of little archaeological interest, the only ancient remains being three Buddhist statues. One, a small Lokanatha, is worshipped as Kartikeya and another as Surjya; while a Budha serves as an image of Kala Bhairava. Ancient, however, as these statues are, it would be obviously unwise to conclude that the place originally belonged to the Buddhists, as the images may have been brought here from some other place.

All the persons mentioned in the preceding list were high priests of the Baidyanath temple with the exception of Puran Mal, who was an ancestor of the Maharaja Gidhaur and one of the leading zamindars of Bihar during the reign of Akbar. An inscription on the Baidyanath temple states that he built it at the request of Raghunath, and tradition relates that the inscription was forcibly put up by Puran Mal, after he had had the temple repaired, to mark his ownership of the surrounding land, which he had taken from its proprietors. The priest Raghunath Ojha was displeased with the inscription, but was unable to resist Puran Mal. He therefore bided his time, and, when the chief was gone, had the porch erected and therein set up his own inscription. Legend states that the priest fasted for some days at the gate of Baidyanath, who revealed to him in a dream that he should build a new porch and set up an inscription; but he claims the credit of having erected the temple.

Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra is of opinion that there must have been a temple here at a very early date. "A place of great sanctity, highly eulogised in the Puranas, and strongly recommended as a place of pilgrimage, could not have remained in the form of a stump of four inches on the bare earth in an open field for centuries without a covering during the Hindu period after the downfall of Buddhism; some pilgrim or other would have soon provided it with a temple." He also disbelieves that the present temple; replaced an old one. "That might at first sight appear probable; but the belief of the Hindus is that it is a sacrilege to pull down a Siva temple and rebuild it, and the denunciations in the Smritis are dire against such sacrilege. Rebuilding of temples is permitted in all cases where movable images are concerned; but in the case of lingams which are fixed to the

earth the pulling down of the temple is equal to the desecration of the lingam itself, which from that moment ceases to be adorable, and must at once be cast into a river. I cannot, therefore, believe that Puran Mal knocked down an old temple, and erected a new one in its place. No Hindu remaining Hindu, and claiming religious merit by the act, could have done such a thing. It is obvious to me, therefore, that the tradition which holds the temple to be old, and ascribes to Puran Mal only the lobby, is correct, and that having defrayed the cost of the lobby which became a part, and an integral part of the temple, he claimed credit for the whole. The inscription, moreover, is placed within the lobby, and its purview need not extend beyond the boundary of that apartment. The same may be said of the inscription of Raghunatha. That worthy defrayed the cost of the porch, which put to shade the work of an oppressive superior and conqueror, and by a figure of speech took to himself the credit of building the whole of the temple and a great many other things which probably never existed. The rivalry of the priest and the potentate can be explained by accepting the truth of this tradition."

One other inscription calls for notice. This is an inscription over the entrance of the temple of Baiḍyanath, written in Bengali characters and purporting to be an extract of a Sanskrit work on the Mandara Hill in the Bhaḡalpur district. It says that Adityasena with his queen, Koshadevi, who had come from the Chola country near Madura in Southern India, built a temple of Vishnu, and that one Balabhadra put up an image of the boar-incarnation of Vishnu. An inscription on the Mandara Hill shows that Konadevi was the actual name of Adityasena's queen, and she had a tank excavated there, which is still in existence; while the lines referring to the boar statue are engraved in characters of the seventh century A.D., which is also the date of Adityasena according to the hill inscription. The temple inscription therefore contains some historical facts, but, remarks Dr. Bloch, "the statement that Adityasena came from the Chola country can hardly be credited, as the names of his family, all ending in Gupta, connect him with the Imperial Gupta family. It has no connection with Baiḍyanath, and it is not clear for what reason it was put up here."*

*Report, Arch. Surv., Bengal Circle, for 1902-1903.

In front of the main entrance of the courtyard is a sacred well, called Chandrakupa, which is held to be the repository of the holy water of all the sacred pools on earth and is said to have been excavated by Ravana to save himself the trouble of bringing water for worship from the Himalayas. To the south-west of the temple courtyard, on the south side of the main road, is a more interesting monument—a masonry platform, about 6 feet in height and 20 feet square, supporting three huge monoliths of contorted gneiss rock. Two are vertical, and the third is laid upon the heads of two uprights like a horizontal beam. The uprights are 12 feet high and quadrilateral in form, each face being $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot broad; while the cross piece is 13 feet long, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ foot broad on each side. There is a faint attempt at sculpture at each end of the vertical faces of the horizontal beam, representing crocodiles' heads. These stones, according to Sir William Hunter, were formerly worshipped by the Santals, but Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra has pointed out that they are a frame for swinging the image of Krishna during the Dol Jatra (Holi) festival. "This gallows-like structure," he writes, "is not peculiar to this place, nor has it any connection with the Santals, who do not now worship it, nor is there any reason to suppose that they ever did so. There is nothing to show that the Santals were in the habit of worshipping a stone scaffold like the one under notice, and certain it is that in no part of Santalia, and indeed in no part of India inhabited by the black races, is there a stone gallows to be seen, which would justify the assumption that such a structure was ever an object of worship. Had any religious sanctity been attached to it, would have been seen much more abundantly than what appears to be the case. The terrace in front of the temple, however, settles the question as to the use of the gallows. In every part of India where the Krishna cultus has found access, such gallows are invariably seen in close proximity to ancient temples. Of course, where stone is scarce, wood is generally used to make the scaffolding, but where stone is available it is always preferred. A remarkably handsome structure of this kind is regularly used at Bhubaneswar for the purpose of setting up a swing during the swing festivals. At Puri there is a similar structure to the north of the great temple, and used for the same purpose. Innumerable other instances may be easily cited, but they are, I think, not wanted."

The road leading from the northern gate of the great temple passes along the western edge of a large tank or lake called Sivaganga, which measures about 900 feet by 600 feet. It forms part of a natural depression, the western portion of which has been cut off by an embankment, on the top of which runs a road. According to Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra : "This embankment must have been put up by Maharaja Man Singh, the great general of Akbar, who came to this place on his way to Orissa, as I find his name is associated with the western portion, which is called Manasarovara." This portion has silted up greatly, and, except during the rains, remains dry. It is connected with the lake by a small rivulet, named Karmanasa, which is said to be the spot where Ravana eased himself : on account of this connection, the water of the lake is held to be impure.

The ritual of worship is simple enough, the *mantras* being few, and the offerings limited. Pouring water on the lingam, smearing it with sandal paste, and offering flowers and a few grains of rice constitute the worship. This is followed by the offering of money in silver or gold, no copper being allowed to be brought into contact with the divinity. Rich people offer horses, cattle, *palkis*, gold ornaments and other valuables, and, sometimes, rent-free land in support of the daily worship. The title-deed in such cases is ordinarily a *bel* leaf, on which the donation is written and which is swept out in the evening. This simple deed, however, is faithfully respected. It is said that the god delights in water, *bel* leaves, sandal and flowers, and they are all that are necessary for his worship. He is, however, very particular about the quality of the leaves and the water. The former has to be brought from the Trikuta (Tiur) hill. For ordinary use the water of the sacred well excavated by Ravana is held sufficient; but water from the sources of the Ganges on the Himalayas near Badrinath, or from the Manasarovara lake in Tibet, is highly prized. Pilgrims, mostly hermits, bring it from those distant places, as well as from the Ganges near the Jahangira rock; while the priests keep a supply of sacred water in phials to help such pilgrims as come without a supply. A few drops of this water are sprinkled on the flowers which the worshipper offers to the divinity.

The verandahs on the north, west and south of the temple are reserved for pilgrims who desire special blessings. Ordinarily men ask for the cure of diseases, and women for

offspring or for the restoration of health to sick children. The ordinary pilgrim's round is as follows. The pilgrim bathes in the Sivaganga tank in the morning, worships the lingam, and then lies down on the bare pavement of the verandah till next morning. He or she then rises, performs his or her worship, drinks a mouthful of water from the vat on the north side, and then lies down again. These practices are continued for three days and three nights. During this period the pleasure of the divinity is generally communicated in a dream to the pilgrim in such words as "Go away, you are cured," or "Go and do such and such things, and you will be cured," or "Your wish will be fulfilled within such and such a time." Should no dream come, it is understood that the person is so sinful as to be unworthy of the god's mercy. Formerly the pilgrim's fast sometimes continued for seven to nine days, and dreams came on after such protracted fasting : but some deaths having taken place from starvation the priests do not now permit a fast to last more than three days.

Deoghar, "the home of the gods," is a modern name. In Sanskrit works we find in its place Hardapitha, Ravana-vana, Ketaki-vana, Haritaki-vana and Vaidyanatha. In Bengal the place is generally known as Baidyanath. The sanctity of Baidyanath is mentioned in several authentic works on pilgrimages dating from the 12th to the 14th centuries A.D. Authentic portions of the Puranas also refer to it, and as they are unquestionably anterior to the tenth century, Baidyanath must even in their time have attained considerable celebrity. Coming to more modern times there is an interesting account of the pilgrimage to Baidyanath in the *Khulasatu-t-twarikh** written between 1695 and 1699 A.D. It runs : "In the district of Monghyr on the skirts of the hill, there is a place named the Jharkhand of Baijnath (Baidyanath) sacred to Mahadeva. Here a miraculous manifestation puzzles those who behold only the outside of things. That is to say, in this temple there is a *pipal* tree, of which nobody knows the origin. If any one of the attendants of the temple is in need of the money necessary for his expenses, he abstains from food and drink, sits under the tree, and offers prayers to Mahadeva for the fulfilment of his desire. After two or three days the tree puts forth a leaf covered with lines in the Hindi character, written by an invisible pen, and

*Jadunath Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, 1901.

containing an order on a certain inhabitant of any of the parts of the world for the payment of a certain sum to the person who had prayed for it. Although his residence may be 500 leagues from Baidyanath, the names of that man and his children, wife, father and grandfather, his quarter, country, home and other correct details about him are known from the writing on the leaf. The high priest, writing agreeably to it on a separate piece of paper, gives [it to that attendant of the temple]. This is called the *hundi* (cheque) of Baijnath. The suppliant, having taken this cheque, goes to the place named on it, according to the directions contained in it. The man upon whom the cheque has been drawn pays the money without attempting evasion or guile. A Brahman once brought a *hundi* of Baijnath to the very writer of this book, and he, knowing it to be a bringer of good fortune, paid the money and satisfied the Brahman. More wonderful than this is a cave at this holy place. The high priest enters into the cave once a year, on the day of the Siva-brata, and having brought some earth out of it, gives a little to each of the ministers of the temple. Through the power of the Truly Powerful, this earth becomes turned into gold, in proportion to the degree of merit of each man."

Under the Muhammadan Government the chief priest appears to have paid a fixed rent to the Rajas of Birbhum, and the administration of the temple seems to have been left entirely in the hands of the priest. When the British rule began, it was decided to take over the management of the temple, and with this object an establishment of priests, collectors and watchmen was organized in 1787 at Government expense. The revenue soon fell off, as the chief priest beset the avenues to the temples with emissaries, who induced the pilgrims to make their offerings before approaching the shrine. The result was that, though there were 50,000 pilgrims in 1789, the receipts only amounted to Rs. 4,084. Next year the Collector of Birbhum, Mr. Keating, appointed an establishment of 120 armed policemen with 15 officers in order to improve the collections, with the result that they increased to Rs. 8,463. He himself visited Deoghar in 1791 in order to superintend the collections personally and stop the peculations of the police. His report gives an interesting account of the difficulties under which the pilgrims laboured at that time. "Of wealth among any of them there was no appearance. No more than five families had any conveyance

or hired house to reside in. About a hundred had simply a blanket drawn over a bamboo as a protection from the weather; and the rest—varying from fifteen to fifty thousand, according to the season—took up their abode under the adjacent trees, with no kind of conveniency whatever. There was too general an appearance of poverty to suppose that the temple could profit much from the oblations of its devotees, and little could be expected from wretches who seemed in want of every necessary of life.”*

In 1791 Government relinquished its claim to a share of the offerings, and entrusted the management of the shrine to the *Ojha*, or head priest, on his executig an agreement to keep the temples in repair and to perform all the usual ceremonies. He was also bound on pain of dismissal to keep order and not exact the offerings from the pilgrims. The post of *Ojha* was held to be hereditary, but the appointment was made by Government and the priest was to be over 40 years of age. According to Mr. Keating, the income of the temple in 1791 consisted of the offerings and of the proceeds of 32 villages and 108 *bighas* of land, which he estimated at Rs. 2,000 a year; some years later we find the total income estimated at Rs. 25,000 a year. Under this system the mismanagement of the temple was a source of constant complaint. The temple and *ghats* were frequently out of repair, and the *Ojha* was charged with alienating villages from the temple and treating “his situation as a means of enriching himself and his family.” On his death in 1820, a dispute over the succession arose between an uncle and his nephew, and the Collector, in his position as Local Agent, had to go to Deoghar to hold an enquiry. The nephew Nityanand was eventually appointed, but neglected to carry out the terms of his appointment, for it was soon reported that the “whole place and environs were a scene of dirt and stench,” and only a quarter of the income (estimated at Rs. 1,50,000 annually) was spent on the temple. Finally, Nityanand was charged with malversation of the funds, and the uncle, Sarbanand, was in 1823 appointed *Ojha* in his stead, a yearly provision being made for his nephew.

There was a faction which was opposed to Sarbanand's retention in office and asked for Government interference

* *Annals of Rural Bengal*, page 281.

in the internal management of the temple. In 1835 Government declined all interference in the matter and the parties were left to have recourse to the established courts of law. Sarbanand died in 1837 and on his death the property was attached till a successor could be appointed by Government after taking the opinion of Brahmans*. Iswaranund Ojha, son of Sarbanand Ojha, was subsequently elected *Sardar Panda*. Iswaranund was succeeded by his grandson Sailajanund Ojha. As act XX of 1863, debarred Government from interfering in the internal management of the temple, disputes between the high priest and the *pandas* regarding the control of the temple were frequent and in civil suit no. 18 of 1897 in the Court of the Additional Judge of Burdwan, Sailajanund Ojha was dismissed by the order of the Court as he by his conduct and behaviour and by causing loss to the Debattar properties rendered himself unfit and disqualified to hold the post of *Sardar Panda* and trustee of the temple of Baidyanath. It was further ordered by the Additional Judge in the decree granted by him on 15th July 1901 that some fit person be elected as *Sardar Panda* by the *pandas* of the temple and that the affairs of the temple should be managed by a scheme which was framed by the Additional Judge and formed a part of the decree. Under this scheme, three persons are to be appointed to look after the temple and its properties and for the proper administration of the same. Of these three persons, one is to be a member of the family of the Maharaja of Gidhore or the Raja of Khaira. Either the Maharaja of Gidhore or the Raja of Khaira can be one; another is to be selected from amongst the descendants of Ram Dutt Jha, but he must be at the same time a *mushriff* and *Panda* and the third is to be selected from amongst the *pandas* of the temple of Baidyanath. The scheme also set forth the duties of the *Sardar Panda*. After this Umeshanund Dutt Jha second son of Iswaranund Jha was elected *Sardar Panda*. On the death of Umeshanund Dutt Jha, Bhaba Pritanund Ojha has been appointed *Sardar Panda*. Bhaba Pritanund is the grandson of Sailajanund Ojha.

About 300 families of *pandas*, who belong to a branch of Maithil Brahmans, are attached to the temple, and earn

*Sir W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp.278-85. E. G. Drake-Brockman, *Notes on the Early Administration of Birbhum* (1898), pp. 32-33.

a livelihood by assisting pilgrims in performing the various ceremonies connected with the worship of the god. They have their own chief, who is designated the *Sardar Panda* or high priest, and of recent years this office has vested in members of one family. In accordance with a recent decree of the courts, the administration of the temple is now vested in a council of trustees, which includes the high priest and other *pandas* as well as laymen.

Deoghar Subdivision.—A subdivision in the south-west of the district lying between $24^{\circ}3'$ and $24^{\circ}38'N$. and between $86^{\circ}28'$ and $87^{\circ}4'E$., with an area of 952 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Bhagalpur and Monghyr districts; on the south by the Jamtara subdivision; on the west by the Monghyr and Hazaribagh districts; and on the east by the Dumka and Godda subdivisions of this district. The subdivision contains several clusters of rocky hills covered with jungle, but its general aspect is that of a rolling series of long ridges with intervening depressions. Most of these rolling uplands have been denuded of the forest with which they were once covered, and are cultivated with highland crops, while the depressions, which are exceedingly fertile, yield winter rice. The population of the subdivision was 346,946 in 1931 against 290,758 in 1921, 297,403 in 1901 and 284,115 in 1891, its density being 364 persons to the square mile. It contains 2,384 villages and two towns, viz., Deoghar, its headquarters, and Madhupur.

Dumka (or Naya Dumka).—Headquarters of the district, situated in $24^{\circ}16'N$. and $87^{\circ}15'E$. Dumka is one of the oldest British stations in Bengal, being shown on the map of 1769 as "Duncaw," a fact which lends colour to the idea that the original name was Dumkoh, *koh* being a common termination to names of villages in the Santal Parganas. It was then a *ghatwali* police-post in the Birbhum jurisdiction, but in 1795 was transferred to Bhagalpur and made the site of one of the four Kohisthani police thanas for the regulation of the Rajmahal Hills. The name frequently occurs in the old correspondence as Dumka or Doomka till 1855, when the station was first called Naya Dumka, in contradistinction to the old village of Dumka (Purana Dumka), by the officer commanding a detachment of troops stationed here during the Santal rebellion. It is only occasionally called Naya Dumka, except in official reports. In 1855 Dumka was made the

headquarters of the Santal Parganas district, but soon afterwards the headquarters were removed and it was left as the headquarters of the Dumka sub-district only. In 1872 the sub-districts of the Santal Parganas were constituted subdivisions, and Dumka again became the headquarters of the whole district.

Situated on rising ground, which slopes down to the river Mor, and with a far-flung girdle of hills in the background, Dumka is one of the most picturesque stations in Bengal. It contains a pretty creeper-clad English church, close to which is a small lake called Phutta Bandh. On a mound in the lake, which is connected with the tank by a small bridge, is stone pillar erected in honour of Dr. Kelly, formerly Civil Surgeon, who had the lake excavated. The town, which forms part of the property of Mr. Maling Grant, had a population of 5,326 persons in 1901 and was constituted a municipality in 1902. According to the 1931 census, the population of the town was 9,471. It is somewhat difficult of access, being 39 miles from the Rampur Hat station on the Loop Line, and 42 miles from Deoghar. Prior to 1920 travellers used to do the journey from Rampur Hat in *thika garis*, for which previous arrangement had to be made, as they had to be brought in from Dumka. Motor cars and motor buses as public conveyance have come into existence since 1920 and a number of motor buses regularly ply between Dumka and Bhagalpur, Mundar Hill, Godda, Jesidih, Deoghar, Pakaur, Rajmahal and Suri.

Dumka Subdivision.—Central subdivision of the district lying between $23^{\circ}59'$ and $24^{\circ}39'N.$ and between $86^{\circ}54'$ and $87^{\circ}42'E.$, with an area of 1,429 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Godda and Pakaur subdivisions of this district and by the Banka subdivision of the Bhagalpur district; on the south by the Jamtara subdivision and the district of Birbhum; on the east by the Rampur Hat subdivision of the latter district and the Pakaur subdivision of this district; and on the west by the Deoghar and Jamtara subdivisions. The subdivision consists for the greater part of rolling open country with long ridges and intervening depressions, but a large area is occupied by hills and forests in the north, where part of the subdivision is included in the Damin-i-koh. There are two principal ranges, running south from the Pakaur and Godda subdivisions, which enter

this subdivision close to the Silingi bungalow in the extreme north of the Dumka Damin. They run parallel to each other and, passing through the Damin, terminate in the Nangal-bhanga hill, over which the Rampur Hat road is carried. To the south-east is another extensive range known as the Ramgarh Hills, situated in *taluks* Darin Mauleswar and Sulunga. The scenery in these hills, near the Narganj, Silingi bungalows and specially in the Karcho hill, is very picturesque, hill after hill stretching away in the distance covered with dense jungle, while far down in the valleys are seen terraced rice fields green with paddy. The population of the subdivision in 1901 was 416,681, representing a density of 292 persons to the square mile. According to the 1931 Census the population is 466,157, the density being 319 persons to the square mile. The population is contained in 2,681 villages and one town the headquarters station being Dumka.

Godda.—Headquarters of the subdivision of the same name, situated 46 miles north of Dumka. The town has a population of 1,935 persons and contains the public offices usually found at subdivisional headquarters, but otherwise is of no special interest. The nearest railway stations are Mandar Hill, 15 miles to the west and Ghogha on the Loop Line, 31 miles to the north.

Godda Subdivision.—North-western subdivision of the district, lying between 24°30' and 25°14'N. and between 87°3' and 87°36'E., with an area of 850 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Bhagalpur district and a small portion of the Rajmahal subdivision; on the east by the Damin-i-koh portion of the Rajmahal and Pakaur subdivisions; on the south by *pargana* Handwe in the Dumka subdivision; and on the west by the Bhagalpur district. Its length from north to south is over 50 miles, and its breadth varies from 12 to 24 miles. The east of the subdivision, along the skirts of the Rajmahal Hills, is included in the Damin-i-koh and consists of hilly country, with forests in the southern half. The western portion of the subdivision, comprising the zamindari tract, is different in character. *Tappa* Manihari to the north is a fertile alluvial plain very similar to the adjacent level country in the Bhagalpur district. Next to it comes *tappa* Patsunda, and upland tract sloping downwards towards the west. Towards the south in *parganas* Passai, Godda and Barkop the country is undulating.

The rivers of the subdivision, which rise for the most part in the uplands to the east, receive the drainage of the western slope of the hills, and flow generally in a westerly direction into the Girua, which flows northwards to the Ganges close to the western boundary of the subdivision. In the Manihari plain there are two streams the Koa and Bhorai, which have scoured out deep channels in the alluvial soil. *Tappa* Patsunda is separated from *pargana* Barkop on the south by the Sundar river, which rises in the hills of Telo Bungalow. South of the Sundar there are three streams, the Sapni, Bheriya and Harna, the two latter flowing through *pargana* Godda. The largest stream of the subdivision is the Kajia, which rises in the highlands of Belbathan and Passai, and is fed by five separate streams. It flows past the town of Godda, where it has a considerable width. The Lilji flows through *parganas* Amlamatia and Godda, and joins the Chir river above Panjwara. The latter stream is also joined by the Poreya and Sugathan, which flow westward through *pargana* Passai.

The chief hills of the subdivision are in the Damin-i-koh and belong to the Rajmahal range, of which there are a few outliers. In the west of Passai there is a small range which continues westward into the Bhagalpur district; in Barkop there is a cluster of small hills of black rock, and an isolated hill at Bisaha; while other detached hills of black rock are found in Patsunda and Manihari.

The subdivision contains 1,622 villages, and its population in 1901 was 390,223, the density being 404 persons to the square mile. According to the 1931 Census its population is 387,801, the density being 456 persons to the square mile. To the east, in the Damin-i-koh, the country is sparsely inhabited, but the Mahagama and Godda thanas to the east form one of the most fertile and densely populated tracts in the district.

Handwa — A *pargana* in the north of Dumka subdivision. There are 22 *taluks* included in the *pargana*. Nine *taluks* Beldaha, Ensinga, Jhopa, Karma Saharamahara, Kamardiha, Kherwa Bengama Khurd and Kesri are *ghatwali* tenures subordinate to the Kharagpur Estate. While 13 *taluks*, Kendwa, Kasba, Siltha Sarmi, Danro, Amrapahari, Dudhwa Nawada, Phuljhari, Jartal, Baje, Bargo and Nowdiha belong to the descendants of Raja Subhas Singh and are known

as the Handwe Raj. Being a Government *ghatwali* heritable, inalienable and indivisible. The property is in relation to the Kharagpur zamindari, a dependent *taluk* in the sense in which the expression has been used in section 14 of Regulation I of 1801. The Kharagpur Estate is entitled as superior landlords to realise a sum of Rs. 2,171 as rent *plus* such cesses as may from time to time be chargeable to the estate. The rent is not liable to be enhanced. The Government, however, can dismiss the *ghatwal* for any misconduct in relation to his office. Raja Subhas Singh was succeeded by his son Jhabhan Singh who was succeeded by his son Madho Singh. Madho Singh's son was Udit Narain Singh. On the death of Udit Narain Singh, the Handwe Raj was held by Rani Kesobati Kumari who adopted Kumar Satya Narain Singh of the Barkope family as her heir. Kumar Satya Narain Singh died in 1924 and has been succeeded by Srimati Sonabati Kumari who is the present *ghatwalin* of the estate. Its headquarters are at Nonihat, two miles from which, under the Lagwa hill, is the ancestral home of the Khetauri proprietress. The income of the estate is Rs. 1,49,000. It is now under a Receiver appointed by the Hon'ble High Court to clear off the arrears of rent due to the Banaili Raj, which has taken the place of the Kharagpur Raj.

Jamtara.—Headquarters of the subdivision of the same name situated on the Chord Line of the East Indian Railway. It is merely a village, with a population of 3,209 persons, containing the public offices usually found at a subdivisional headquarters.

Jamtara Subdivision.—Southern subdivision of the district, lying between 23°49'N. and 24°10'N. and between 86°30' and 87°18'E., with an area of 692 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Dumka and Deoghar subdivisions of this district; on the east by the district of Birbhum and the Dumka subdivision; on the south by the districts of Manbhum, Burdwan and Birbhum; and on the west by the district of Hazaribagh. The subdivision, which is bounded on the south by the Barakar and is intersected by the Ajay river, is a rolling upland country with long ridges and intervening depressions. It is traversed by the Chord Line of the East Indian Railway and contains three stations at Mihijam, Jamtara and Karmatarh. The population of the subdivision was 189,799 in 1901, as compared with 173,726 in 1891, the density being 272 persons to the square mile. According to the census of

1931, the population is 243,858, the density being 352 to the square mile. It contains 1,073 villages, and is divided into the following *taluks*—Afzalpur, Amba, Amjora, Amlajori, Asna, Babupur, Bagdahuri, Bhangahir, Bharchandi, Chaukhanda, Dhadhika, Dhasunia, Geria, Ghati, Jalain, Jamjuri, Jamkanali, Kajra, Katna, Kenduakasta, Khajuri, Kundahi, Mandhara, Maro, Nagri, Nala, Narayanpur, Pabbia, Pakuria, Palajuri, Pindari, Satki, Siharketia, Sundarpur and Taro.

Jungleterry.—A district which was in existence from 1772 to 1780. It included almost the whole of the present Santal Parganas and also a large tract to the west and north-west, which now forms part of the Hazaribagh, Monghyr and Bhagalpur districts, viz., Kharakdiha in Hazaribagh, South Gidhaur in Monghyr and South Kharagpur in Bhagalpur. The only portions of the Santal Parganas as now constituted which did not form part of the Jungleterry are the Jamtara subdivision and the alluvial portion of the Rajmahal subdivision between the Ganges and the Rajmahal Hills. The name is a corruption of *Jangal Tarai*.

Kankjol.—A *pargana* in the south of the Rajmahal subdivision. It is mentioned in Todar Mal's rent-roll as a *mahal* in *Sarkar* Audamber or Tandah, and there is also a *pargana* of the same name north of the Ganges in the Purnea district. General Cunningham is of opinion that the name is derived from Kankjol, a village 16 miles south of Rajmahal. "Kankjol is an old town, which was once the headquarters of an extensive province, including the whole of the present district of Rajmahal, and a large tract of country which is now on the east of the Ganges, but which in former days was on its west bank. Even at the present day this tract is still recorded as belonging to Kankjol; and I was, therefore, not surprised to hear the zamindars of Inayatpur and the surrounding villages to the east of the Ganges say that their lands were in Kankjol. The simple explanation is that the Ganges has changed its course. At the time of the Muhammadan occupation it flowed under the walls of Gaur in the channel of the present Bhagirathi river. Part of the trans-Gangetic Kankjol is in the Puraniya district bounded by Akbarpur, and part in the Malda district bounded by Malda proper."*

Kuarpal.—A *tappa* situated partly in the Godda and partly in the Pakaur subdivision. It stretches across the Damin-i-koh and is the largest hill division in the estate. The name,

which is also spelt Kumarpal or Kunwarpal, means the hills of the Kumars or princes, and is the northernmost tract inhabited by the Mal Paharias.

Madhupur.—A town in the Deoghar subdivision, situated on the Chord Line of the East Indian Railway, 183 miles from Howrah. Population (1901) 6,840 and according to the 1931 census 8,965. The town is 820 feet above sea-level and has a growing reputation as a health resort among the Bengali community. A number of houses have consequently been built by residents of Calcutta and other places. It is a growing town with a considerable number of European railway employees and an increasing population of Bengali gentlemen who have country residences here. It was constituted a municipality in 1909; and there is a junction here for a branch line to Giridih.

Mahuagarhi.—A hill in the south of the Rajmahal Hills with a height of about 1,500 feet. On the summit is a Paharia village called Pokharia after a ruined stone tank, which is still pointed out. It also contains the remains of a stone fort attributed to one Kushial Singh, a Rajput Raja, who placed himself at the head of the Paharias and was slain in a battle against the Rajas of Handwe at a spot beneath the hill, the name of which, Rajamara, commemorates his death.

Manihari Tappa.—A *tappa* in the north of the Godda subdivision. It was formerly held by a family of Khetauris, of whom Buchanan Hamilton has given the following account. A Nat Raja called Dariyar Singh was chief of the northern hillmen and lived in the Manjhwe valley, where he built and occupied a fort called Lakragarh. A Khetauri called Kalyan entered his service, and Kalyan's son Rupkaran became commandant of the fort. In 1600 A.D. Man Singh was sent by Akbar to settle the affairs of Bengal, and was opposed by a chief called Subhan Singh. The Nat Raja favoured Subhan, but Rupkaran, deserting his master, expelled him from the fort and helped Man Singh to force the defiles. "He then advanced with Man Singh to Bengal, and his family entirely attribute to his prowess the overthrow of Subhan. It would appear, indeed, that he rendered essential service, as his rewards were considerable. In the first place he obtained in *mansab jagir*, free of rent and in perpetuity, five *parganas*, viz., Dursaraf in Puraniya (Purnea), Yamuni (Jamuni) and Akbarnagar in Rajmahal, and Manjhuya (Manjhwe) and Kangiyala (Kanjiala) comprising the valley included by the

hills of the mountaineers. Besides this he procured, as a zamindari *tappa*, Manihari, a part of the Bhagalpur *pargana*, Man Singh conferred the title of Raja on his favourite, who enjoyed these estates until the Fasli year 1015 (A.D. 1608).'' When Buchanan Hamilton wrote his account, a descendant of Rupkaran named Raja Gajraj Singh, son of Sujan Singh, held the estate.

A local tradition which agrees more or less with this account runs as follows :—The *tappa* was formerly held by seven Nat brothers, who lived at seven different places, but Majmai (in the Damin-i-koh near Burio Hat) was their capital, at which they met during the Durga Puja festivals. They were overthrown by a Khetauri named Rupkaran Singh, the son of Kalyan Singh, who was marked for future greatness by a miraculous occurrence, for one day, while he was reposing under the shade of a tree, he fell asleep, and a serpent sheltered him from the sun by spreading its hood over him like an umbrella. Rupkaran entered into a conspiracy to kill the Nat Rajas, to whom the Khetauris used to supply fuel at the time of the Pujas. During one of these festivals, when the Nat brothers were intoxicated, he and his fellows rose up against them, and having killed them established the Khetauri Raj. Rupkaran Singh reigned from 1008 to 1015 (F.), and one of his descendants received the title of Raja and *tappas* Jamuni and Chitaulia as *jagir* from the Emperor of Delhi between 1067 and 1075 (F.). The next Raja, Kishori Singh, having become a convert to Islam and married a member of the family of Shah Shuja, Viceroy of Bengal, obtained several more *jagirs*, but his nephews, Harichand Singh and others, enraged at his apostasy, assassinated him. His burial place at Majmai used to be looked upon as a holy place, and even now his descendants offer sweetmeats there in his name. Coming to later times, the raids of the Paharias forced Raja Sujan Singh to grant *jagirs* in order to prevent their incursions, and in this way 36,000 *bighas* were assigned to *jagirdars*. During his time (1163 to 1187 F.) a fire broke out in Majmai, and the residence of the Rajas was burnt down.

The subsequent history of the family may be briefly told. In 1792 A.D., during the time of Gajraj Singh, *tappa* Manihari was permanently settled at a *jama* of Rs. 8,192. Gajraj Singh became insane and his property was managed by the Court of Wards from 1804 till his death in 1833, when he was succeeded

by his two sons, Raja Bhagwan Singh and Kumar Chandan Singh. In 1836 suits were brought by Government for the resumption of the *mansab jagir* and of the Manihari *ghatwali jagir*; and a decree was given in favour of Government in 1838. In that year the zamindari of Manihari was sold for arrears of revenue and purchased for Rs. 15,500 by Babu Ananda Narayan Ghose (son of the *diwan* of Lady Hastings) of Pathuriaghata, Calcutta, whose family are still in possession. The last proprietor was Heramba Chandra Ghose, grandson of Ananda Narayan, who died in 1907 without issue and was succeeded by his widow, Srimati Paritoshini Dasi. Paritoshini Dasi has been succeeded by Amarendra Nath Dey and Sudhirendra Nath Dey by a decree of the Hon'ble High Court of Calcutta, dated the 1st August 1916 in suit no. 302 of 1910.

Between 1836 and 1841 Chandan Singh was convicted of murder and was sentenced to imprisonment for life; while Bhagwan Singh developed insanity and his property was managed by his wife Rani Dularbati till 1840, when Mr. Pontet, on the strength of the resumption decree, took possession of the inner valleys of the Rajmahal Damin. The Manihari *jagir* and those portions of the *mansab jagir* which lay outside the Damin-i-koh were settled after resumption with the Manihari family or their successors in interest. Between 1838 and her death in 1888 Rani Dularbati, who was in receipt of a pension from Government, gradually parted with all the family property.

During the resettlement operations of 1898—1910, Nahal Singh and Sib Narayan Singh, descendants of Mahtab Singh, a brother of Raja Gajraj Singh, aided by certain pleaders of Bhagalpur to whom they had transferred a nine-annas interest in their rights, brought numerous suits, as reversionary heirs of Rani Dularbati, against the present owners of the resumed *jagir* villages, claiming restitution on the ground that the Rani could not alienate more than her life interest in the estate. The suits were mostly withdrawn on compromise. In 1900 a suit was brought against Government by Nahal Singh, Sib Narayan Singh and three pleaders of Bhagalpur for the restoration of the inner valleys in the northern half of the Damin-i-koh, *i.e.*, *pargana* Bara Kanjiali, *tappa* Payer and Haveli Manjhwe. The suit was eventually compromised, Government agreeing to give the two descendants of the Manihari Rajas a fixed hereditary pension of

Rs. 50 each a month and to pay a lump sum of Rs. 20,000 to the other three plaintiffs, in return for which they abandoned their claims.

Tappa Manihari now comprises two portions, viz., *mal* and *jagirdari* villages. The latter account for one-third of the area and are held by a number of different persons; while the former are the property of Amarendra Nath Dey and Sudhirendra Nath Dey of Pathuriaghata. The *tappa* is divided into eight subdivisions called *divis*, viz., Gobindpur, Bajitpur, Doe, Madhura, Chanda, Dumaria, Phulbaria and Chaijora. It contains a few places of interest. In Gobindpur there is a village now called Kasba, and formerly Manihari, from which the *tappa* has taken its name. It contains several large tanks, at present silted up, from the beds of which, as well as from other places in the village, images carved in stone and other architectural remains have been obtained. Bricks of large dimensions are also found as well as engraved slabs of black stone. Mangarh, a *mauza* contiguous to Kasba, is associated with the memory of Akbar's general Man Singh. The story current among the people of the place is that when Man Singh came to conquer Bengal he encamped at Manihari and built a fort, which was called Mangarh after him. Legend also relates that his son Jagat Singh, married the daughter of Birendra Singh, the chieftain of the *tappa*, without his father's permission. Bikram Kita is said to have been the capital of Birendra Singh, and there are still remains of a fortress there called Bimligarh after Bimala, his wife and the step-mother of Jagat Singh's bride. Close by are two images carved out of the rock, which, it has been suggested, may be images of Buddha. The people believe that every one passing by these images should throw stones at them, otherwise evil will befall upon them. On a hillock called Maha-Paharia in the north-east of the *tappa* there are remains of a stone fortress.

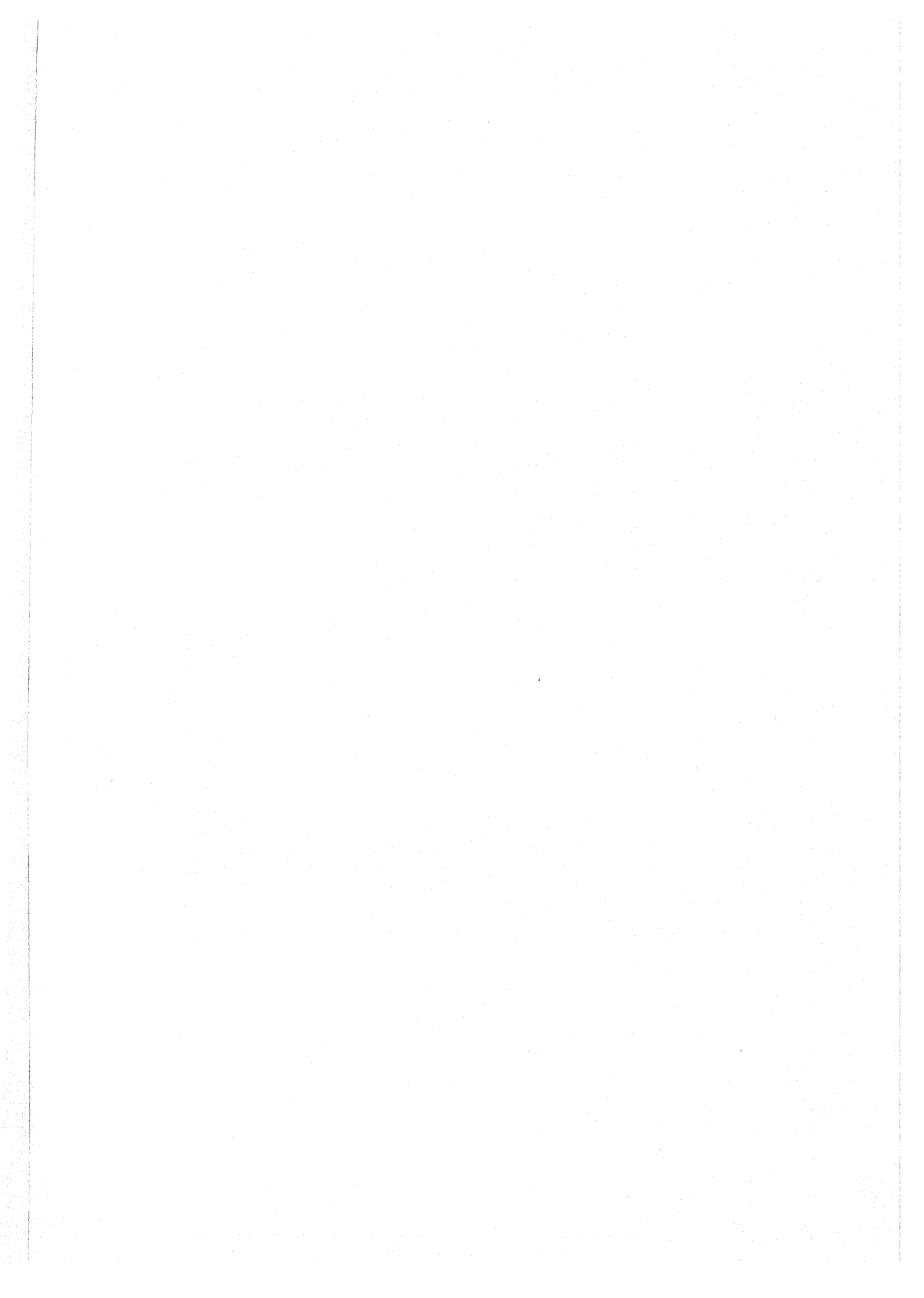
Muhammadabad.—A *pargana* in the south of the Dumka subdivision with an area of 133½ square miles. It was formerly held by the Rajas of Nagar in Birbhum, but in 1851 was purchased at a Civil Court sale by Madhusudan Mukherji of Kendulia, who sold the property eight years later to Babu Krishna Chandra Chakravarti, father of Raja Ram Ranjan Chakravarti Bahadur of Hetampur, whose heirs and successors are the present proprietors. The *pargana* is separated from the rest of the Dumka subdivision by the Lakhanpur Hills on the north-west and the Ramgarh Hills on the north-east.

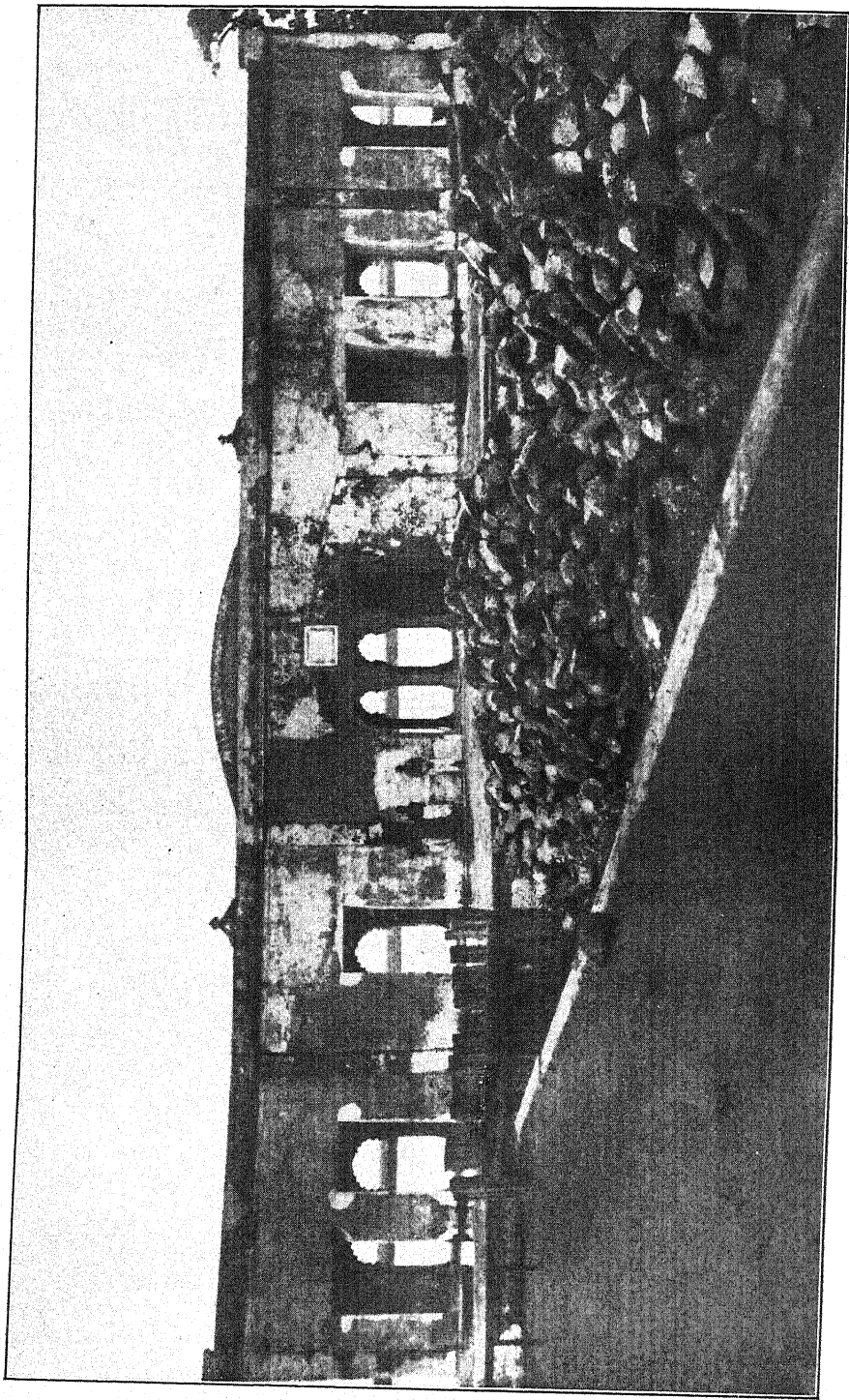
The river Mor cuts through a narrow gorge between these two ranges and runs for about 10 miles through the *pargana* before passing into the Birbhum district.

Naya Dumka—See Dumka.

Pakaur—Headquarters of the subdivision of the same name, situate on the Loop Line of the East Indian Railway. Population 4,862. It contains the usual public offices found at a subdivisional headquarters and has no buildings of any interest except a Martello tower, 30 feet high and 20 feet in diameter, which was built in 1856 for the protection of the railway officers and their bungalows. It is loop-holed for musketry and has room on the top for one or two light guns. This tower afforded protection to the railway officers and some officers of a sepoy regiment when a company of mutineers passed through the place in 1857. From the top of it there is a fine view of the Rajmahal Hills, and Jangipur 15 miles to the east is also visible. During the Santal rebellion the town was destroyed by the Santals, who, to the number of 8,000, armed with bows, arrows and battle-axes, plundered and burnt the bungalows, sacked the Rani's palace and overran the town, murdering many of its inhabitants.

Pakaur Subdivision.—Subdivision in the north-west of the district lying between $24^{\circ} 14'$ and $24^{\circ} 49'$ N. and between $87^{\circ} 23'$ and $87^{\circ} 53'$ E., with an area of 863 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Rajmahal subdivision, from which it is separated for a distance of 20 miles by a long chain of hills extending from the river Gumani. The district of Murshidabad adjoins it on the east and south, and another range of hills separates it from the Dumka Damin on the west. The subdivision contains three distinct tracts, viz., (1) a portion of the Damin-i-koh Government estate, (2) the zamindari portion of *pargana* Ambar, and (3) *pargana* Sultanabad. The first occupies the north-western corner of the subdivision and has an area of 267 square miles. The zamindari portion of Ambar lies on the east and *pargana* Sultanabad on the south, the combined area of these zamindari tracts being 398 square miles. The greater part of the Damin-i-koh is a hilly tract populated by aborigines, who live upon forest produce and such crops as can be grown on the hills; whereas the zamindari tracts are mostly inhabited by Muhammadans and Hindus. *Pargana* Ambar is a level rice plain studded with hills here and there, in which conditions are the same as in Sultanabad except for a strip of about 4 miles adjoining the Dumka Damin, where the country is rocky.





Sanghidalan, Rajmahal.

The principal rivers are the Bansloi, Brahmani, Pagla, Torai and Gumani. The Bansloi and Brahmani, which are used extensively for irrigation, are the largest rivers in the subdivision, each having an average breadth of about 200 feet. Both flow through the Sultanabad *pargana*, and so does the Pagla or "mad river," a stream notorious for its violence. The Torai is a narrow river in *pargana* Ambar of some importance on account of its fisheries, and the Gumani is a hilly stream in the Damin-i-koh running along the boundary between this and the Godda subdivision. There is a big cattle market at Hiranpur in the Pakaur Damin, 12 miles from Pakaur Railway Station. The present Superintendent of the cattle market is Mr. H. L. Weatherilt under whose supervision the market has risen into importance. The population of the subdivision was 275,874 in 1931, the density being 394 persons to the square mile.

Patsunda.—A *tappa* in the Godda subdivision, bounded on the north by Manihari and on the south by Barkop. As related in the article on Barkop, Patsunda originally formed one estate with Barkop under a Khetauri family, but was separated from it. Up to 1903 it was held by a descendant of Deb Barm, the founder of the Khetauri family, but it was sold in January 1904 for debt and purchased by some *mahajans* of Bhagalpur.

Rajmahal.—Headquarters of the subdivision of the same name, situated in the north-east of the district on the right bank of the Ganges. Population (1901) 2,047 and according to the census of 1931, 3,685. Once the capital of the Viceroys of Bengal, the town is now a collection of mud huts interspersed with a few respectable houses and some ruins of nobler edifices. The remains of the old Muhammadan city, buried in rank jungle, extend for about 4 miles to the west of the modern town, but most of the buildings have fallen into ruins or have been destroyed in order to provide ballast for the railway. The following is an account of the remains which are still extant.

On the east of the sub-registry office are the ruins of a temple of Siva, and on the west is an old and large well, which the Railway Company used for pumping water for their engines. It is said that when Shah Shuja was defeated the ladies of his zanana threw into this well whatever jewellery they had. West of the well is a building known as the Holil, the upper part of which is modern, being built by the Railway

Company, but the lower part consists of old arched halls and rooms in good preservation. Western half of the upper part is now used as police-station and the eastern half as Police Inspector's quarters. The ruins of a building known as the Hammam or bath are found on the west of this building; imbedded in the walls of its rooms are the remains of pipes, which were used to convey water from a big well, a short distance to the north. West of this stands the *cutchery* building, the verandahs on both sides of which were built by the Railway Company. The interior walls, with the exception of a few partition walls also built by the Company, are old and unusually thick. Below this building are underground rooms which were closed up by the Railway Company. On the west of the *cutchery* building is the old cemetery. There are 11 tombs in it, of which three have inscriptions dating back to 1847, 1848 and 1859.

On the west of the cemetery is the Sangdalan or marble hall, said to have been built by Man Singh and popularly known as Man Singh's Sangdalan. At present it consists of three rooms, of which the centre one has an arched roof supported by six stone pillars, all finely polished. Some beams projecting on the river side which are not in existence now, pointed to the existence of underground rooms. This building, which was being repaired and maintained by the East Indian Railway authorities, has now been transferred to the Archaeological Department with necessary land and pathway 10 feet wide from the nearest public road. About 50 yards from the Sangdalan is an old mosque in good preservation. It belonged to the Railway Company and was being used as a charitable dispensary upto 1912 when on relinquishment by the Railway authorities it was handed over to the Muhammadan community and the dispensary was removed to a new building constructed for the purpose in front of the sub-registry office. It is said that it was built in two months to enable the Emperor Akbar to perform his worship when he visited Rajmahal in connection with the building of the Juma Masjid described later.

On the east of the road leading south from the southern bazar is another mosque still used by the local Muhammadans. On the west of this road is the tomb of Maina Bibi and also a tank known as Maina Talao. The tomb is a picturesque one and is carved inside, but is overgrown with jungle. The tank is about 90 feet square, with *pakka* masonry work and

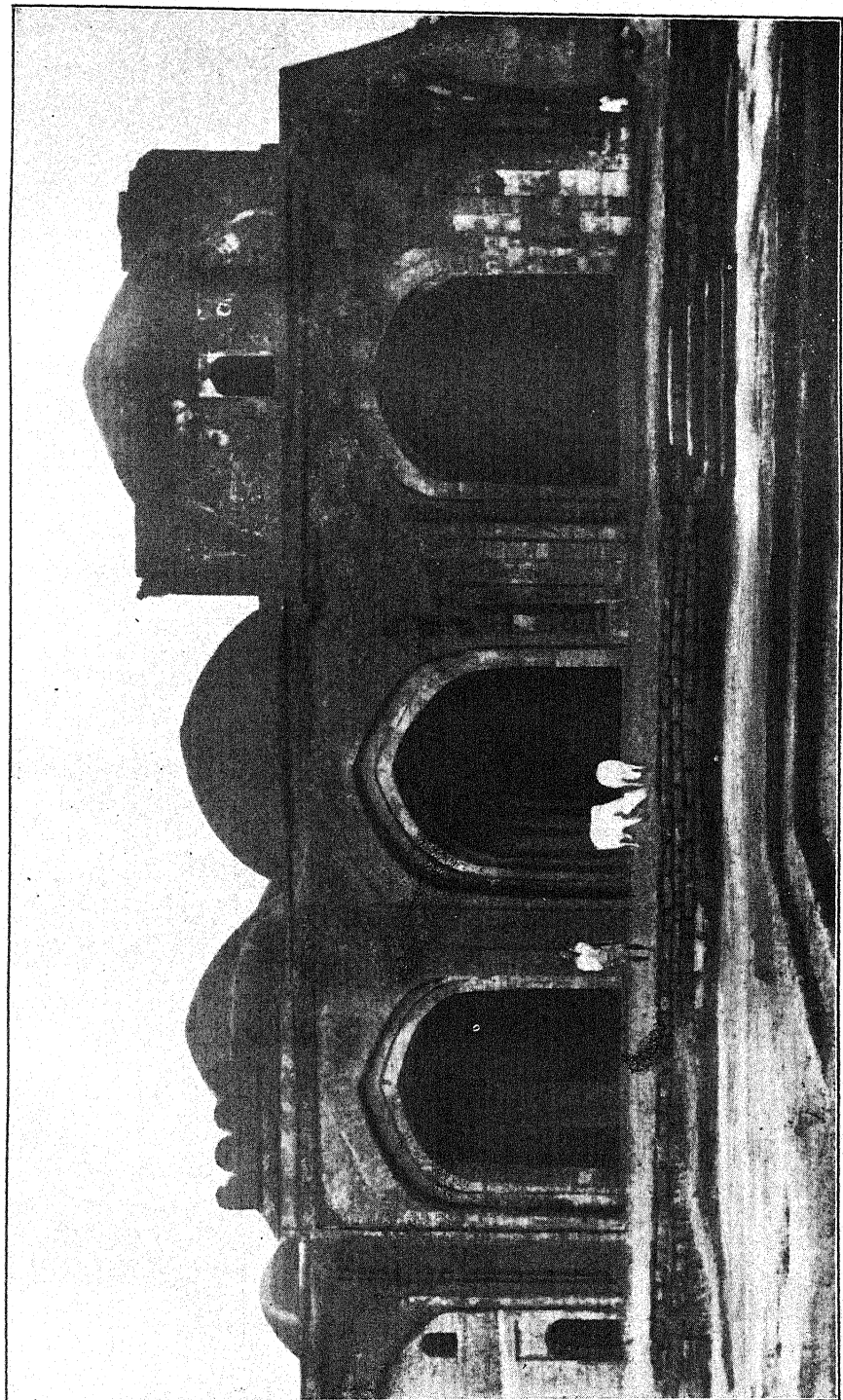
ghats on each side; it is full of weeds and dries up in the hot weather. Both the tank and the tomb belong to the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad. About 300 yards to the south is the cemetery now in use, on the east of which is a fine mosque in ruins belonging to Panchan Khan of Kotwali Malda: there is a tank with a *pakka ghat* to the east of it. On the west of the cemetery is the *jhil* known as Anant Sarobar or Anna Sarobar. About 20 years ago the *jhil* used to have water in it all the year round, but since then it has been drained by Government. In this *jhil* there are the ruins of a structure said to have been built as a pavilion from which spectators could watch the regattas held in the lake in the time of Shah Shuja. On the southern outskirts of the *jhil*, about 200 yards south-west of the cemetery, are the ruins of the Phulbari and the zanana buildings of Shah Shuja. The floor of these buildings is visible in some places, and there are underground rooms with pipes in them, by which water was brought from a reservoir connected with the lake. A portion of a bridge about 6 feet high is still standing: it probably extended across the *jhil*, as another portion may be seen a considerable distance to the west. On the south-west of these ruins the *jhil* stretches towards Udhua Nullah: opposite the Phulbari it is flanked by a thick parapet wall. On the south of this wall is a piece of high land containing an Idgah, where the Muhammadans congregate during the Bakr-Id. About 2 miles south-east of the Idgah is the Nageswar Bagh, in which the only remains of a garden are a few mango trees and two wells, which supply excellent drinking water to the people of the locality.

About 600 yards west of the Akbar Sahi mosque where the charitable dispensary was located up to 1912 is Mr. Hennessy's bungalow, an old building with a thick parapet wall towards the river. This wall extended about 2 miles to the west as far as Jagat Seth's house in Nawab Deori, but it is now broken owing to its bricks having been removed for building purposes. Adjacent to the bungalow compound on the south is a building known as the Baradwari from the fact that it has 12 doorways (three on each side); in the middle is an arched room where *darbars* used to be held. It is said that this building belonged to Fateh Jang Khan, a rich Muhammadan zamindar. According to local tradition, he incurred the displeasure of Man Singh for having sent

word to Akbar that Man Singh was building a palace for himself when the foundations of what is now the Juma Masjid were being laid. On this account, it is said, Man Singh had his house blown up with gunpowder. This story finds some corroboration from the state of the ruins of the buttresses and a portion of the parapet wall on the north.

About half a mile west of the Rajmahal bazar and on the south of the Rajmahal-Taljhari road is the tomb of Miran, son of Mir Jafar Khan, Nawab of Bengal (*see* Chapter II). The tomb, which stands in a mango garden with walls on three sides, is made of brick and is unassuming in appearance; on the north towards the road are the ruins of buildings probably intended for the accommodation of visitors. The Jafarganj Nawab, a descendant of Mir Jafar, is in charge of the tomb. About 400 yards west of it, and on the north of the Rajmahal-Taljhari road, are the ruins of a building known as the Pathargarh or stone house. It had a hall in the middle with two storied rooms on each side; up to a height of about 6 feet the wall was made of stone and above that of polished bricks; the doorways were all of stone. This building has been demolished, and only the bare walls are left. Some says it was formerly a mint where Jagat Seth, the banker and financier of Murshidabad, used to coin money; but others simply say that it belonged to a rich merchant. West of this is an old temple of Siva at a place known as Mahadebthan, and three *samadhis* or tombs of Vaishnava *Sadhus*. At Nawab Deori west of this temple is the site on which Jagat Seth's palace stood. Thirty-eight years ago there were two structures here known as the *naubat-khana*, but now nothing remains except a parapet wall. About 400 yards to the west were the houses of the Nawab family of Murshidabad and a fine Imambara, which was in existence till about 48 years ago. Close by there are two mosques, one of which, known as Raushan Masjid, is in fairly good preservation.

About two miles west of Nawab Deori and south of the Rajmahal-Taljhari road is the Juma Masjid erected by Man Singh, which is one of the oldest buildings in Rajmahal. This mosque, a fine specimen of the Mughal style, is situated on a small eminence called Hadaf, about 4 miles west of the railway station; the name Hadaf is an Arabic word meaning a hill or archery butts. One legend relates that Man



Juma Masjid. Raimahal.

Singh originally intended the building to be a palace for himself, and that when Fateh Khan informed the Emperor Akbar he converted it into a mosque. Another tradition is that Man Singh intended it to be a Hindu temple but converted it into a mosque in order to avert the anger of the Emperor, to whom it had been reported that he was profaning the town by erecting a temple for idolatrous worship. The northern part of the building has now fallen down, but the mosque is magnificent even in ruin. On the west of it is a temple of Siva said to have been built by Man Singh, and opposite it on the north of the Rajmahal-Taljhari road on the Hadaf hill in village Arazi Mokimpur are the ruins of a building known as the Baradwari, in which there are some stone pillars still standing. Between the Juma Masjid and the Baradwari are the remains of a gateway; and it is said that there was a subterranean passage leading from the courtyard of the Masjid to the Sangdalan at Rajmahal. About one mile south-east of the Juma Masjid, at a place known as Katghar situated on the western outskirts of the Anna Sarobar, there is a well about 30 feet in diameter known as Man Singh's well. Half a mile south of the Juma Masjid is a Muhammadan cemetery which appears to have been used by the Muhammadan gentry living here; some of the tombs are of stone and contain carvings and inscriptions.

About 800 yards north-west of the Juma Masjid may be seen an old Muhammadan bridge, 236 feet in length with six pointed arches of 10 feet span, built on five piers and having four round bastions, one at each corner. It is on the road to Sahibganj, and is said to be contemporaneous with the Juma Masjid. About half a mile to the north of the bridge is a rock called Pirpahar, because there is the tomb of a *Pir* or Muhammadan saint on the top of it. On a hillock to the west of it is a place sacred to the Hindus, called Kanaithan. Its sanctity is due to the fact that Krishna is said to have danced here. It is a place of pilgrimage visited by pilgrims returning from the *mela* of Ramkeli at Malda.

Rajmahal Subdivision.—North-eastern subdivision of the district lying between $24^{\circ} 43'$ and $25^{\circ} 18'$ N. and between $87^{\circ} 27'$ and $87^{\circ} 57'$ E., with an area of 801 square miles. It measures about 40 miles from north to south and 30 miles from east to west; its width is greatest in the south and narrows down towards the north, at one point being only

about 12 miles. To the north and east the boundary is the main stream of the Ganges, beyond which are the districts of Purnea and Malda. To the west the boundary is formed by the Manjhwe Hills running from north to south, beyond which lie the Bhagalpur district and the Godda subdivision of this district. To the south the boundary is formed by an irregular line of hills and high land running from east to west, which form the watershed between the Gumani and Bansloi rivers; south of this line lie the Dumka and Pakaur subdivisions of the Santal Parganas and the Jangipur subdivision of the Murshidabad district.

The eastern portion of the subdivision and a narrow strip along the Ganges to the north consist of alluvial and *diara* land of the kind so familiar in Bengal. The whole of the western portion, forming about three-fourths of the total area, consists of hills, valleys and pleasant undulating country. To the north the hills extend in an unbroken line running parallel to the Ganges and leaving a narrow strip of level land between them and the river. To the east they run almost due north and south as far as the Gumani river, except at one point where a wedge-shaped block projects to the east near Udhua Nullah. All along their eastern face is a tract of low-lying country stretching down to the Ganges, which is very liable to floods. The south-east of the subdivision, however, on the borders of the Jangipur and Pakaur subdivisions, consists of undulating country with a gravelly soil.

There are two main ranges of hills, *viz.*, the Rajmahal Hills to the east and the Manjhwe Hills to the west, which run parallel to one another from north to south at an average distance of some 10 miles. The Rajmahal Hills extend as far as the point where the Gumani river debouches into the plains; and the Manjhwe Hills run south till they meet the Gumani near its source in the Godda subdivision. These two ranges coalesce in the north and form a range running close to the river from east to west. South of the Gumani there is another irregular range of hills running more or less from east to west, and forming the watershed between the Gumani and Bansloi rivers. The Ganges skirts the subdivision, and there are only two other rivers of any importance, *viz.*, the Gumani and its tributary the Morel or Moran. The valleys formed by these two rivers are among the most noticeable

physical features of the subdivision. They are from four to eight miles broad, are very rich and fertile, and are studded with prosperous Santal villages. The population of the subdivision was 276,703 in 1901, its density being 373 persons to the square mile. According to the 1931 census the population is 331,136, the density being 413 persons to the square mile. It contains 2 towns, Sahibganj and Rajmahal and 1,291 villages. The greater portion of the subdivision is included in the Damin-i-koh.

Sahibganj.—A town situated in the north-east of the Rajmahal subdivision on the southern bank of the river Ganges. It extends over about 2 square miles along the Ganges and is intersected by the Loop Line of the East Indian Railway. Its situation is picturesque, for it occupies rising ground along the river bank and is backed by an amphitheatre of hills. A small hill to the south-west of the railway station commands a particularly fine view. Its population in 1931 was 15,883. The town has grown into importance as a trade centre since the construction of the railway. Local produce is received by river from the trans-Gangetic districts of Malda, Purnea and North Bhagalpur, while European goods are brought by rail for distribution to those districts. The principal articles of local trade are rice, maize, other food-grains and *sabai* grass, which is brought down from the Rajmahal Hills, passed and exported in bales to Calcutta for the manufacture of paper. Sahibganj was constituted a municipality in 1883, and the area within municipal limits is $1\frac{3}{4}$ square miles. There is a cattle market at Sahibganj and a forest *hat*.

Sakrigali.—A village in the north-east of the Rajmahal subdivision situated close to the Ganges, 6 miles east of Sahibganj. It lies at the base of a long promontory running down from the Rajmahal Hills, which terminate in a rocky knoll, on the top of which is an old tomb. The village derives its name from the Sakrigali pass, which in Muhammadan times was a pass of great strategic importance and the scene of several battles which have been mentioned in Chapter II. It consists of a narrow winding road, which must have been difficult to force when breastworks and trenches were built across it. According to Ives (1773) the road was 9 to 12 feet wide, cut through rock and hemmed in on either side by impenetrable jungle. He says that if a ball was discharged

here, it could not go above 100 yards in a line, the road everywhere abounding with intricate windings. Raymond, the translator of the *Sair-ul-Mutakharin*, writing about 1789, describes it as follows :—" Sacry-gally, or the gullet or lane of Sacry, is a narrow defile with the Ganga on one side, and a chain of woody hills on the other : and such is Talia-garry, which besides has a wall that shuts up the passage from end to end. The former defile may be 10 feet broad, and being overhanged with woods is capable of great defence, and seems to bar the passage from Bahar into Bengal : but the chain of hills that borders it would, on inspection, afford many other passages, and really there are many more. Rhago-dji in 1740 kept at his left both those defiles, and yet he penetrated with ease into Bengal." There are now no remains of fortifications and this dreaded pass is merely a pretty lane.

The following description of the place was given by Bishop Heber in 1823 :—" Sicligully is a little town, or rather village, of straw huts, with the ruinous bungalow and ruinous barracks of Mr. Cleveland's corps, at the base of a high rocky eminence at an angle of the Ganges. The shore is rocky, and the country rises gradually in a succession of hill and dale to the mountains distant about three or four miles. The rocky eminence which I mentioned is quite insulated, and rather higher than the Red Castle Cliff at Hawkstone, which, from the fine timber growing on and round it, it a good deal resembles. I saw some ruins on the top, and on enquiry found that they were the remains of the tomb of a Mussulman saint, one of the conquerors of Bengal, and as devout as he was valiant. The tomb itself is well worth the trouble of climbing the hill. It stands on a platform of rock, surrounded by a battlemented wall, with a gate very prettily ornamented and rock benches all round to sit or pray on. The ' Chamber of the tomb ' is square, with a dome roof very neatly built, covered with excellent chunam, which, though 300 years old, remains entire, and having within it a carved stone mound, like the hillocks in an English churchyard, where sleeps the scourge of the idolaters. The ancient honours of the lamp kept burning, etc., have long been discontinued, but I was told it was the general opinion both of Mussulmans and Hindoos that every Thursday night a tiger comes, couches close to the grave and remains there till morning." According to Ives the tomb is that of Saiyid Ahmad Makhdum and was built by Shaista Khan, the uncle of Aurangzeb. Close to the

village of Sakrigali is a small bazar called Paltanganj, which is so called from its having contained the barracks of the Paharia corps raised by Cleveland. The name Sakrigali is probably derived from *sakra* (from the Sanskrit *sangkirna*), meaning narrow, and *gali*, meaning a path.*

Sankara.—An estate in the Dumka Subdivision extending over 80 square miles and comprising 109 villages. The estate appears to have been granted as a *lakhiraj* property to one Joy Singh by Asadulla Jaman Khan, who was Raja of Nagar in Birbhum in the 18th Century. In 1840 it was resumed by Government and temporarily settled with the heirs of Joy Singh, and in 1845 it was resettled with Digbijay Singh, grandson of Sumar Singh who again was the grandson of Jay Singh. Digbijoy Singh was killed during the Santal insurrection of 1855 on the eastern embankment of a tank close to his house at Gando; a withered *sal* tree now dead and replaced by a clump of screw of pine flowers marks the spot at which he met his death. The estate was then taken under the management of the Court of Wards, which management still continues and was farmed out to Mr. G. H. Grant of Bhagalpur for a period of ten years from May 1856 to April 1866, on the expiry of which the lease was renewed for another five years. In the mean time, in 1865, the estate was permanently settled, the annual land-revenue demand being fixed at Rs. 2,765-9-0. A settlement of rent was carried out by Mr. Brown Wood in 1875-76, the aggregate rental payable by the ryots being fixed at Rs. 14,322. A resettlement was carried out by Mr. Craven in 1891-92 the effect of which was to increase the rental to Rs. 20,269-8-0. A revision of the settlement was carried out by Mr. Allanson when the rental was increased to Rs. 30,600-7-9. In the recent settlement of Mr. Davies which was completed in 1929 the rent roll of the estate has been increased to Rs. 42,056-12-0.

The estate was held by Siva Sundari, the daughter of Digbijoy Singh, up till the date of her death at her family residence at Gando in year 1928. After her death, her sons, Babu Hari Narain Singh and Babu Bholanath Singh, became joint proprietors of the Estate. The former was adjudged a lunatic by the District Court and the latter who realised that he would not be able to manage the property if left to him, applied and was declared to be disqualified proprietor

* H. Beveridge, *Sahibganj and Rajmahal*, Calcutta Review, Vol. XCVI (1893), pp. 71-72.

and the Court of Wards retained charge of the whole estate. Then in year 1933 Babu Bholanath Singh died and a dispute as to succession to the Estate is pending decision before the Court. The members of the family call themselves Kumarbhag Paharias and are believed to be of the same stock as the Mal Paharias in the Dumka Subdivision, amongst whom they have a number of relatives. The estate derives its name from the village of Sankara, once the family residence, which lies in the Damin-i-koh, on the northern side of the river Brahmani, which separates the two estates. It is said that before the family settled at Gando they used to live at Pathaithan, where they migrated from Brindaban. The family also appears to have lived for a time at Murgathali on the Punasi Hills and before that at Dighi near the Singhin Hills. The latter hills are closely connected with the tradition of the family, and the family deity Singhabahini (rider of the lion), one of the names of ten-armed Durga, is supposed to reside in a cave in them. Human sacrifices used to be offered to her, the last rite of this nature being performed under the orders of Prithi Singh, an uncle of Digbijoy Singh. Prithi Singh escaped the gallows but his associates paid the extreme penalty of the law on the other side of the Dumka Bandh at a spot known to this day as *Phansia dangal* (the hanging ground).* The misfortunes of the family are ascribed to the wrath of this goddess, who even now is supposed to appear in visions and ask for human sacrifices. Even now the goddess Singhabahini is worshipped in a temple annually with great pomp at their seat at Gando; a few other Hindu Gods and Goddesses also, viz., Siva, Kali and Saraswati, are worshipped by the family according to Hindu rites.

Further information regarding the Estate is given by Mr. W. B. Oldham in his work *Some Historical and Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan District*. "Sankara is the name of the group of hills south-west of the present Damin-i-koh, which, though part of the original Damin-i-koh recognised by Cleveland, were cut off from it in the years 1826 to 1833 by that extremely self-willed and autocratic officer, the Hon'ble John Petty Ward when he was forming the present

* Mr. W. B. Oldham writes in *Some Historical and Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan District*:—"In 1868 it seemed as if nothing could save Sankara from sale and extinction and to avert the impending ruin, the heads of the family seized and sacrificed an unfortunate Bhojpuri trader on the top of Singhini Math (the horned head) their highest hill."

ringfence in those years Cleveland made no distinction between the Maler and the Mal and conferred a set of his stipends on the Mals of Sankara, and of course, with them, the privileges of his legal system for the hills. Sankara lay in the Birbhumi zamindari, close to the cleared country, the easily accessible, and the chief of Cleveland's time Tribhuban Singh by name, more resembled a petty *talukdar* than one of the barbarous mountaineers, and was in fact, a plainsman. His son, Sumar Singh, a man of great character and physical energy, combined the predatory habits of a Paharia with the cunning of litigiousness of a Bengali, and used to raid almost up to the civil station of Suri, about 30 miles away, and to secure immunity from the consequences by pleading the privileges of Cleveland's system and trial by his peers. In this way he formed a very considerable *taluk*, the genesis of which only came to light in the course of Mr. Ward's operations. That officer indignantly cut it off from the Damin-i-koh and in doing so, had to sever the genuine mountaineers recognised by Cleveland, and vested with sets of stipends by him, in the high hills to the south-east of Sankara. All this territory was restored to the permanently settled tracts in the midst of which it lay. It is curious that, notwithstanding his indignation with Sumar Singh, Mr. Ward made no attempt to interfere with the Sankara stipends which continued to be paid till 1879 when I resumed them. Sumar Singh, meanwhile, retained his ill gotten territory and the title of Raja; and in the litigation which followed his death the *Dayabhag* was claimed by one party of disputants as the law governing the family and was decreed to be so by the Privy Council."

Sarath Deoghar.—A tappa in the south of the district comprising the whole of the Deoghar subdivision and part of the Dumka and Jamtara subdivisions. The whole *tappa*, except a few acres in the town of Deoghar, is divided into *ghatwalis*, some of which form very considerable *taluks*. These *ghatwalis* are governed by Regulation XXIX of 1814, which is in force only in Sarath Deoghar.

Sultanabad.—A pargana in the Pakaur subdivision within the jurisdiction of the Maheshpur and Pakuria police-stations. The traditional history of the *pargana* is as follows. It was originally a thick jungle, infested by wild animals, in which the Paharias settled under a chief called Chand Sardar. He lived at a place, about 6 miles north of Maheshpur, which was called after him Chandpur; the name is still met with in old records and maps, but the modern name of the village is

Amlagachi. In course of time, Hindus and Muhammadans came and settled in this tract, one of their leaders being Sultan Shah, who settled at a place 4 miles south of Maheshpur, where the present village of Dum-Dum is situated. Sultan Shah reclaimed the jungle here and built a mosque, which is still in existence though in a ruinous state. It is regarded with veneration both by the Hindus and Muhammadans of the locality, who call it Shabamuddin Shah's *dargah*. The place where Sultan Shah lived was named after him Sultanabad, and that name was given to the surrounding country.

According to the chronicles of the Maheshpur family Sultanabad was conquered by two brothers Abu Singh and Baku Singh, who came from Gorakhpur with a number of followers on a visit to their relative, the Raja of Kharagpur, and in alliance with him defeated all the zamindars of the country. The elder brother, Baku Singh, became ruler of the greater part of the tract, thus conquered and established his capital at Maheshpur. He was the founder of the Maheshpur Raj family, which is still in possession of Sultanabad. The younger brother, Abu Singh, took what was left and reclaimed a large area of hill and jungle. The two brothers, having secured themselves in possession, obtained recognition from the Nawab of Bengal, to whom Baku Singh sent every year some forest produce as tribute. His brother Abu Singh settled among the Paharias and is said to have married a Paharia woman. Of the descendants of Baku Singh there is nothing of interest to record till we come to Garjan Singh, who held the estate from 1161 to 1165 of the Bengali era (A.D. 1754-58). During his time bands of Maratha freebooters passed through Sultanabad, and some of them are said to have been defeated by Garjan Singh and driven across the Ganges. In order to save himself and his family from their attacks Garjan Singh had subterranean rooms built in Maheshpur, the ruins of which may be seen to this day. On the death of Garjan Singh without issue his widow, Rani Sarbeswari, succeeded to the Raj and was in possession when the British rule began.

The *pargana* was at first included in the Rajshahi Division, but was brought under the hill system by Cleveland in 1781. Two years later Rani Sarbeswari was tried and deposed by him in consequence of her instigating the depredations of the Mal Paharias, but in 1791 the estate was restored to Makum Singh, a nephew of Garjan Singh, with whom a settlement was effected in 1799. On his death in 1803 the estate was

held first by his widow and then by his grandson, Raghunath Singh, who was succeeded in 1832 by his sister Janki Kumari Devi, who held the estate till 1888. Her husband was Gopal Chandra Singh, a Rajput of Gorakhpur, who received the title of Raja in 1872 and of Maharaja in 1875. In 1888, four years before her death, Janki Kumari made over the property to her youngest son Indra Narayan Singh, on whose death in 1892 it passed to his four minor sons, Jogendra, Debendra, Gyanendra and Phanindra, with their mother Rani Radha Pyari Devi as their guardian. The estate was taken over by the Court of Wards on 5th November 1907 on their joint application, and was released on 20th July 1909. Debendra Nath Singh is now dead and the estate having been involved in debts is now in charge of a Receiver appointed by the Sub-Judge of Bhagalpur in execution of a decree obtained by Babu Sourindra Mohon Singh and others. The headquarters of the estate are at Maheshpur.

Several places in the *pargana* are the subject of local legends. Haripur, 14 miles south-east of Maheshpur, is said to have been the residence of one Hari Singh and contains the ruins of large tanks and Saiva temples. Two miles north-west of Haripur there is a Santali village formerly known as Sibpur, with the ruins of five Saiva temples, close to which is a sulphurous spring. About a mile east of Maheshpur is Garhbari, said to have been the residence of Kaidar Rai, an officer in the employ of the Nawab of Murshidabad, who having incurred the displeasure of the Nawab sought shelter here. Devinagar, about six miles south-west of Maheshpur, was once the residence of Lala Uday Narayan, a Bhojpuri officer in the service of the Nawab of Murshidabad. Ruins of houses and temples attributed to him are still extant, and among the inhabitants of the village there are a number of Bhojpuris. Near Devinagar there are two smaller villages called Kotalpokhar and Akdasal. It is believed that the Kotals or Kotwals (*i.e.*, guards) of Lala Uday Narayan were stationed in Kotalpokhar in order to guard his houses and property, and at Akdasal was the *akhra* (or wrestling ground) of his soldiers and retainers. There was also a road constructed from Devinagar to Murshidabad, which can still be traced.

Teliagarhi.—A ruined fort situated 7 miles east of Sahibganj close to the East Indian Railway line. It stands on a plateau on the lower slope of the Rajmahal Hills, at the foot of which the Ganges formerly flowed : tradition, indeed, says that soldiers used to sit on the walls with fishing rods and

catch fish from the river below. Owing to its position it was a place of great strategic importance, and was known as "the key of Bengal". Ives gives the following account of it as it appeared in 1757. "This is only a wall carried on from the brink of the river (which at this place is prodigiously rapid) to the foot of the mountain, and is almost impassable, being covered, like that at Sicarigully, with thick woods and jungle; and hath this further impediment, that very near to the wall runs a rivulet, on the side of the hill, seemingly impracticable to pass over. The bastions are without parapets, having eight sides that are not eight feet wide, and they have contrived to build the walls so artfully, that the rivulet serves for a ditch in front. The bastion wall, which is about 14 feet high and 50 yards long, entirely commands the river, which though it be three-fourths of a mile broad here, yet the current is such as to carry all boats close under the platform". The translator of the *Sair-ul-Mutakharin*, however, writing at the close of the 18th century, had no great opinion of its strength. "Teliagarhi is a fort that shuts up the passage into Bengal. It consists in a wall, strengthened with towers, that extends from the foot of the hills to the rocky banks of the Ganges. It has neither ditch nor rampart, and yet answers well enough the purpose in a country where they know nothing of sieges, and hardly anything of artillery. Else a battery of 24 pounders would make a breach in it in half a day: and a couple of mortars placed upon the brow of the hill would destroy every man and every building in the fort."

The Ganges, having changed its course and formed a large *char*, is now far away from Teliagarhi, the East Indian Railway line now running close to the fort. The fort, moreover, has fallen into ruins; but long walls, made of stones and bricks in alternate courses, may still be seen to the north, east and west. There are gates in the eastern and western sides, and the length of the walls is approximately 250 feet. To the south the adjoining hill formed a natural protection. The northern wall has three octagonal pavilions, one at each end and one in the centre. Inside there are several rooms along the walls, and a small mosque with three domes stands in the north-western corner; while in the south-eastern corner an old bath still exists. To the north, in the plain, are traces of more ancient buildings, but they are in utter ruin. Carved stones, such as are found at Gaur, are lying among the debris, and perhaps a mosque in the old Bengali style existed here. Local tradition states that the fort is called after a Teli

zamindar who was compelled by the Muhammadans to embrace Islam, but it seems more likely that the derivation is *telia*, a Hindi word meaning black, which would naturally be applied to the fortress on account of the black stones used in building it.*

Udhua Nullah.—A village on the bank of the Ganges situated 6 miles south of Rajmahal, close to which the battle of Udhua Nullah was fought on the 5th September 1763. The following description of the battle is given by Broome in his *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army*:—
“ The position selected by the enemy was one of exceeding strength, to add to which no pains or expense had been spared. It commanded the main and only road, and extended across the gorge formed between the Ganges and the Rajmahal Hills, a steep spur of which ran out and narrowed the pass at this particular point. A deep morass extended along the front of the lines from near the foot of the hills to within less than 100 yards from the river, along which narrow strip ran the road. The left of the intrenchment rested on the river; from hence it ran in a south-westerly direction for about a mile, when it abutted upon a steep isolated hill which was strongly fortified and garrisoned. From this it again branched off in a more southerly direction up to the main spur of the mountains, amongst the ravines and scarped precipices of which it finally terminated. The whole of this line of works was of recent construction; the ramparts were about 60 feet thick and 10 high, surmounted by a parapet of about 18 feet thick and 7 feet high; and in front, along the whole line on the plain, ran a deep ditch of 60 feet wide and about 12 deep. Batteries were erected at convenient intervals, and upwards of 100 pieces of cannon were mounted upon them. Some distance to the rear was the old line of works, and the Oodwah Nullah, from which the pass derived its name, the steep banks of which formed a natural defence of themselves. Across this a stone bridge had been thrown, where a strong guard was stationed; and in the interval the whole of the army was encamped. The force collected here comprised all the troops that had escaped from Gherriah, with the reinforcements sent by Meer Kossim Khan, the whole amounting to upwards of 40,000 men, including the regular Brigades of Sumroo, Markar and Aratoon.

*H. Beveridge, *Sahibganj and Rajmahal*, Calcutta Review, Vol. XCVI (1893), pp. 67-70.

“ The only accessible point was along the bank of the river, and to attack this the army now bent their endeavours. Fascines and gabions were constructed, approaches lined out, and batteries thrown up with considerable skill, the troops, Europeans and natives, working with cheerfulness and alacrity; but the progress of these operations was very slow, owing to the limited means at command. The force was moreover constantly harassed by parties of the enemy stealing out of the intrenchments near the foot of the hills, and fording the morass before daylight. This compelled Major Adams to extend his camp to the left and throw up an intrenchment in front, his right resting on the river and his left on a branch of the morass. The King's and Company's Battalions were in the centre, the Sipahi Battalions divided on the flanks; a strong guard of Sipahis was pushed forward to the right to support the parties in the trenches, to which the artillery, the paucity of whose numbers could admit of no relief, were entirely confined. The Company of Volunteers under Captain Wedderburn and the three Companies of Captain MacLean's Battalion that had recently arrived, were stationed in the boats for the defence of the stores and the command of the river. In these tedious operations nearly a month was consumed. At length, on the 4th of September, three batteries had been erected, the nearest of which was within 300 yards of the fortifications, on the massive ramparts of which the Artillery of the English could make but little impression, although all the siege guns of the force had been disembarked from the boats. A small breach was effected, however, close to the gateway near the river, but of a very imperfect nature, and success, if not hopeless, appeared very distant.

“ On that day a European soldier of Meer Kossim Khan's army, originally a deserter from the Company's service, came in and offered, on condition of pardon, to point out a ford through the morass by which the troops might cross and attack the left of the entrenchment. That such a ford did exist the previous attacks of the enemy had proved, and the proposition was readily embraced. Arrangements were accordingly made that night, and the following morning the Grenadiers of the 84th Regiment and those of the European Battalion, with two Battalions of Sipahis, of which Captain Broadbrook's (the present 1st Native Infantry) was one, got under arms three hours before daybreak, the whole under the command of Captain James Irving; whilst the remainder of the force, leaving a sufficient guard in camp, moved quietly into the trenches, with the intention of making a false attack to attract

the enemy's attention, which was to be converted into a real attack if circumstances permitted. This latter party was commanded by Captain Moran, and a reserve column was held in readiness under Major Carnac to act as might be found advisable.

"The detachment under Captain Irving crossed the morass with great difficulty, the men being obliged to carry their arms and pouches on their heads to save them from getting wet. They succeeded, however, in reaching the intrenchment without being discovered, and there being no ditch at that point, they planted the scaling ladders they had purposely brought and mounted the rampart. This was close to be isolated hill already mentioned, and as the latter was strongly stockaded on the summit and might be looked upon as the key of the position, Captain Irving determined to ascend and endeavour to carry it by surprise. Strict orders were given to the men on no account to fire, but to trust solely to bayonet, and several of the enemy, who were found lying asleep under the parapet, received their passports into eternity from that silent and deadly weapon. Before the party reached the summit the alarm was given, but too late; the Grenadiers rushed forward, closely followed by the Sipahis, and in a few minutes they were masters of the stockade and not one of the enemy left alive.

"A *mussaul* that had been brought for the purpose was now lighted and held aloft as the preconcerted signal for the party in the trenches. The Artillery from the advance battery opened a sudden and heavy fire upon the breach, until the party under Captain Moran had got close to it. Great difficulty was experienced in crossing the ditch, and when this was effected, the breach was found to be very steep and only wide enough for one person. The enemy, however, distracted by the varied attack, made but a feeble resistance, and a sufficient party having ascended by means of scaling ladders opened the gates to their comrades. The whole force now rushed in and, as previously agreed upon, turned to their left, whilst Captain Irving's party having moved to the right, the whole united, and a fearful scene of carnage ensued.

"It was yet barely daylight, and the enemy, confounded by the suddenness of the attack coming from several quarters, were thrown into inextricable confusion, to add to which, their own guard stationed at the bridge over the nullah had orders to fire upon any one attempting to cross, with a view of compelling the troops to resistance—a duty which was performed with fearful effect. A heap of dead speedily blocked up the

passage and forced the fugitives to look for some other channel of escape. Many threw themselves into the river and were drowned, others attempted to cross the Oodwah, but the steepness of the banks, and the pressure and confusion of the panic-struck crowd, caused a vast sacrifice of life. The greater portion of those who escaped got off by skirting the hills, and many perished amongst the difficulties and precipices of that route. A few attempted to make a stand in the old lines, but they were speedily overpowered and destroyed; 15,000 are said to have perished in this attack and during the flight. To the credit of the English no unnecessary slaughter was committed; after being once assured of success, none fell by their hands save those in actual opposition. An immense number of prisoners were taken, including several officers of rank, all of whom were kindly treated and subsequently released. The great casualty was chiefly attributable to the panic, the confusion, and the darkness, as also to the usual mode of egress being closed. The loss of the English was comparatively inconsiderable, the only officer whose death is recorded being the gallant Captain Broadbrook, who had so long commanded the 1st Battalion of Sipahis. Lieutenant Hampton was also severely wounded. Upwards of 100 pieces of cannon were captured, besides a vast quantity of military stores, and so complete was the overthrow, that the enemy never attempted to rally either at Rajmahal, which was fortified, or in the Sickreegullee or Teereeahgullee passes, either of which was equally tenable with that of Oodwah Nullah—and the wearied fugitives, arriving in the neighbourhood of Mongheer, brought the first intelligence to Meer Kossim Khan of the disaster that had befallen his army.

“When the difficulties of the undertaking, the enormous disproportion of the forces, and the completeness of the result are considered, this must be acknowledged to have been a most extraordinary and brilliant achievement; and though the success was attributable to the surprise, the siege operations, considering the means, were highly creditable to the army, more especially when it is remembered how little practical knowledge either officers or men could have possessed of that description of warfare.”

The lines of entrenchment can still be traced, and an arch of the bridge over the *nullah* is still standing. The *jhil* on the right, through which the British troops waded on the night of the surprise, is part of the great *jhil* through which the railway line passes between Tinpahar and Rajmahal.

Vaidyanath.—See Deoghar.

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